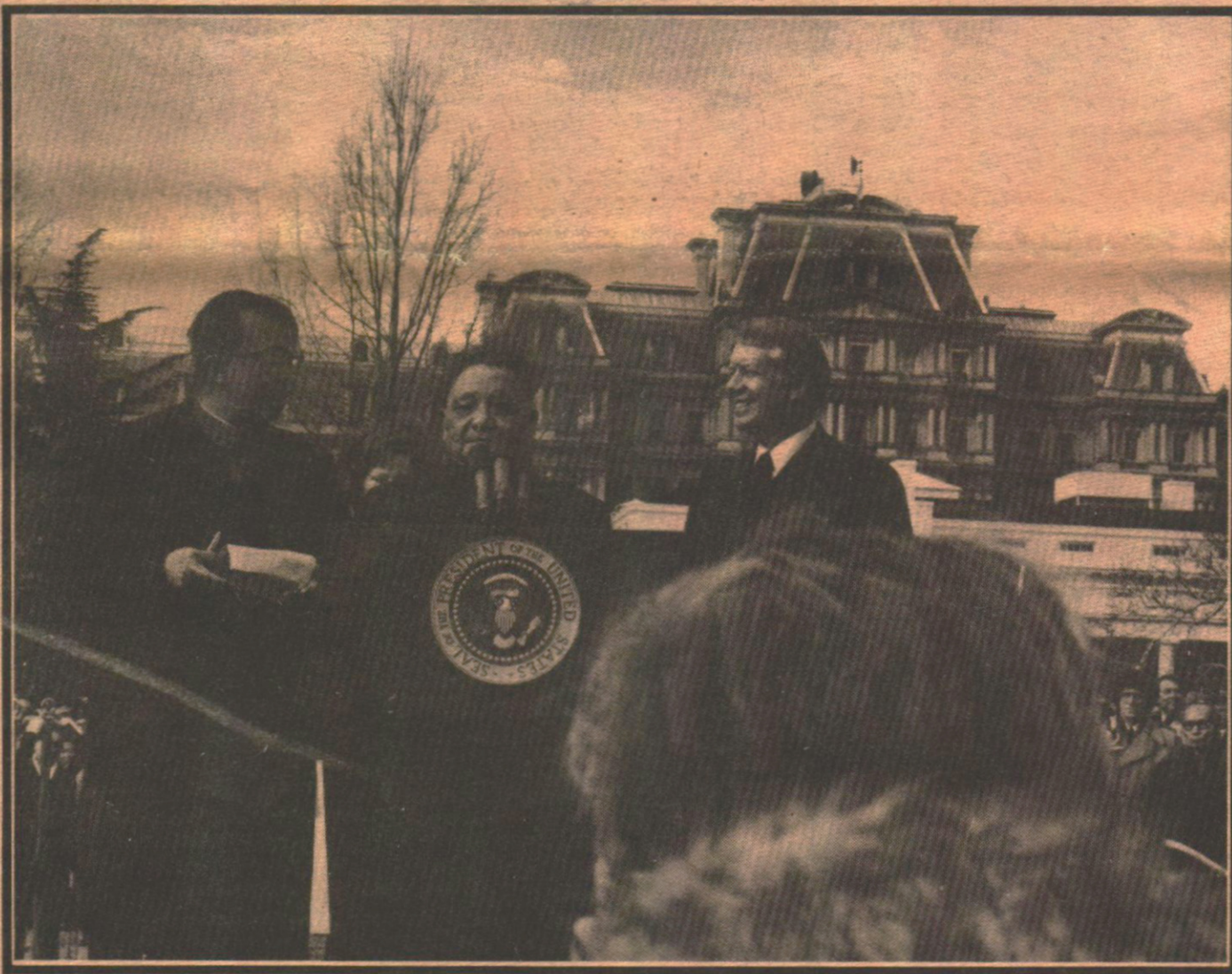




ANOTHER STEP IN THE LONG MARCH



Urban League reports high black unemployment, p. 4

Steelworkers strike in Newport News, p. 5

Romantic novels feature sexy modern woman, p. 20

PHOTO/RICHARD GOLDENSOHN

THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-IL), the new chair of the Congressional Black Caucus.

Poor Richard in Washington

I know all about Richard Nixon: the man who dropped more bombs on North Vietnam in 1971-72 than were dropped on Germany in all World War II; Nixon of the Huston plan to rid himself of political opponents; Nixon on the impounder, Nixon the liar, Nixon the briber. But since he left office in disgrace, I've felt sorry for Richard Nixon; and I was even a little glad when Jimmy Carter invited him to dinner with Deng Xiaoping.

Nixon did not invent "dirty tricks," and he certainly went to less extremes than Woodrow Wilson in trying to silence anti-war opponents. He was definitely not the first American President to put the poor through the wringer. And on foreign policy, I'd take him over any of his post-war predecessors or successors.

When Nixon took office, foreign policy was still dominated by the view of a worldwide Communist alliance against the free world—in spite of Tito and ten years of Sino-Soviet hostility. American-Soviet policy was still predicated on ensuring American nuclear superiority.

Nixon, who was a principal architect of the Cold War's most stubborn myths, had already begun to rethink them by the mid-'60s. In a 1967 *Foreign Affairs* article, he was to say: "Taking the long view, we cannot leave China forever outside the family of nations, there to nurture its fantasies, cherish its hates, and threaten its neighbors." As soon as Nixon took office, in spite of the doubts expressed by his Secretary of State and Security Advisor, he took steps to removing trade and travel barriers with China—steps that were to eventuate in his 1972 visit.

In 1969, Nixon broke publicly with the accepted view of the arms race. "The West does not today have the massive nuclear predominance it once had," Nixon told a NATO meeting in 1969, "and any sort of broad-based agreement with the Soviets would codify the present balance." In 1972, Nixon signed the first SALT agreement, an agreement that, in contrast to SALT II, actually limited production of one weapons-system.

In making an opening to China, Nixon was pursuing the same goals as other presidents—containing communism or any other form of economic nationalism that threatened American trade and investment—but he was doing so more realistically and in a way that may have lessened the chance of future world war.

Nixon doesn't deserve to be honored for his achievements—they reflected the same imperial goals as his bombing of North Vietnam—but he doesn't deserve to be scorned by the same people who worship the memory of Woodrow Wilson, Harry Truman, John Kennedy, or even Lyndon Johnson.

This edition (Vol. 3, No. 12) published Feb. 7, 1979 for newsstand distribution Feb. 7-13.

Uncle Sam in Iran

•From 1975 to 1977, the CIA issued no reports based on contacts within the Iranian opposition.

•In August 1977, the CIA published a study, *Iran in the 1980s*, that assumed that "the Shah will be an active participant in Iranian life well into the 1980s" and "there will be no radical change in Iranian political behavior in the near future."

•In June 1978, reports of an alliance between Islamic and other opponents of the Shah appeared in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post* several weeks before they appeared in the *National Intelligence Daily*, the CIA's supposedly authoritative guide to world happenings.

•In August 1978, the CIA produced a draft National Intelligence Estimate on Iran, which concluded: "Iran is not a revolutionary society, or even a pre-revolutionary situation.... Those who are in opposition, both violent and non-violent, do not have the capacity to be more than troublesome."

•In a Sept. 28 report, the Defense Intelligence Agency concluded that the Shah "is expected to remain actively in power over the next ten years."

These examples of American intelligence blunders in Iran are drawn from a recently released House Subcommittee on Intelligence Evaluation report and from an article by a former State Department expert on Iran that appeared last month in the *Armed Forces Journal International* under the pen-name Abul Kasim Mansur.

Both the report and the article are merely the crest of a wave of recrimination that has swept over the CIA, the State Department, and the White House since the Shah's regime began to topple. On Nov. 11, reportedly at Security Chief Zbigniew Brzezinski's urging, the President sent a critical note about the "quality of intelligence" to Brzezinski, CIA head Stansfield Turner and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance. In December, CIA and State Department officials told the *New York Times*' Seymour Hersh that Brzezinski had refused to permit the State Department to review potential political problems in Iran.

The two most recent salvos place the blame on American policy toward the Shah rather than on the quality of intelligence-gathering.

The U.S. "must treat the crisis in Iran as failure in policy leadership, and not as a failure in intelligence," argues Abul Kasim Mansur. "The [intelligence] community failed to give warning because senior U.S. policymakers made it clear they didn't want to hear any. As was the case in Vietnam, Cambodia, and Angola, few are inspired to seek out and deliver bad news for the reward of destroying their careers."

Mansur traces the American policy back to the late '60s, when Great Britain announced it was withdrawing from the oil-rich Gulf states that lie across the Straits of Hormuz from Iran. From 1943 to 1970, according to Mansur, the U.S. "moderated the Shah's tendency toward authoritarianism, and brought his military and economic development plans back to reasonable levels of growth." But after the British pull-out, the Shah became the guardian of the Straits of Hormuz, through which two-thirds of the world's oil passes.

With Arab states veering toward the Soviet Union, the Nixon administration decided to make Iran its principal ally in the Mideast. In 1971, according to Mansur, Nixon assured the Shah that "he could have virtually any military or intelligence support he asked for. U.S. policy then went from balanced support to all-out commitment."

White House, CIA and State Department officials began squelching any unfavorable reports about the Shah. The U.S. looked the "other way when Iran indi-

rectly funneled large amounts of money into lobbying efforts, and into winning support of key members of the Congress. SAVAK was tacitly allowed to operate in the U.S." Arm sales skyrocketed, with the result that the "Department of Defense came to be increasingly dependent on [their] volume."

When Jimmy Carter took office, he "reissued the Nixon-Kissinger blank check. No one at the highest level of the Carter administration wanted to hear 'bad thoughts.'"

The House subcommittee report generally concurs with this analysis. "Long-standing U.S. attitudes toward the Shah," it says, "inhibited intelligence collection, dampened policymakers' appetite for analysis of the Shah's position, and deafened policymakers to the warning implicit in available current intelligence."

But Mansur takes one further step. "U.S. policymakers," he says, "have long verbally supported the theory that it is better to risk supporting potentially unstable progressive and democratic elements—in spite of their instability, tendency toward non-alignment, and willingness to challenge U.S. policies—than to support fading elites or one-man rules with no ultimate future. Yet, U.S. practice under pressure has been to fall back on short-term security, back pro-U.S. authoritarian elites—and hope the future will never arrive."

China: boom or whimper?

The *Wall Street Journal* and the *AFL-CIO News* don't generally agree on much, and China is no exception. In a Jan. 13 *AFL-CIO News* column, Bayard Rustin warned that China would become a new "low-wage Sunbelt" for American manufacturers. He recounted how two textile firms—Prestige Sportswear and Oxford Industries—had already made agreements with China that would lead to cheap Chinese imports in the American market. Rustin was also skeptical of the China trade's effect on American workers. Since American exports would be in food and computers rather than automobiles or vacuum cleaners, it was not likely to create many new jobs for American workers.

In a Jan. 29 editorial, the *Wall Street Journal* warned that the \$10 billion in capital that Commerce Secretary Juanita Kreps now expects the U.S. to export to China between now and 1985 could be inflationary. Their reasoning: the Chinese are not likely to produce goods for export with the capital goods that will be imported from the U.S. Therefore, the wages paid to American workers to produce the goods will increase the amount of money chasing the same amount of goods.

Both arguments cannot be right.

D.C. digest

•Rep. Cardiss Collins (D-IL) defeated Rep. Ron Dellums (D-CA) in the contest for chair of the Black Caucus. Collins is a Chicago Machine Democrat, who in contrast to Dellums, was seen as an ally of the administration. "Daley's ghost is going to be running the Caucus," one aide quipped. But the day after her election, Collins, on behalf of the Caucus, read a blistering denunciation of the administration's budget cuts.

•The Senate Select Committee on Ethics is responsible for investigating charges of individual senators' misconduct. It is currently investigating charges of wrongdoing against ex-Senator Edward Brooke (R-MA) and Sen. Herman E. Talmadge (D-GA). At a press conference, chairman Adlai E. Stevenson (D-IL) indicated that all six members of the unpopular committee want to resign from it.

•During Ronald Reagan's recent campaign visit to Washington, one Reagan aide was asked what they were doing about the black vote. "We hope they stay home," the aide replied.

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Deng gets down to business

Photos/Richard Goldensohn

By Richard Goldensohn

WASHINGTON

AS DENG XIAOPING'S PLANE was about to arrive here last Sunday afternoon, a wet snow was falling and official Washington's ample lawns were alternating expanses of white and green. The Capitol building was barely visible against an almost equally white winter afternoon's sky.

There was almost no traffic on Pennsylvania Avenue where, across the street from the White House, a knot of about a dozen curious citizens and some 200 members of the press had gathered. From all the lamp posts, as far as the eye could see, hung the American flag, the flag of Washington, D.C., and the flag of the Peoples Republic of China.

Suddenly, at 4:15 p.m., a dozen limousines turned the corner, raced a block down Pennsylvania Avenue, and made a screeching U-turn and abruptly stopped in front of Blair House. "There's the little dude," said a photographer as China's five-foot tall vice premier stepped from his limousine and hurried up the steps into his guest quarters.

For the next three days, Deng would be whisked around official and unofficial Washington, meeting with President Carter, congressmen, private groups, and the press. The days were long and the pace was fast, but the 74-year-old veteran of the long march appeared to enjoy every moment of it.

On Monday, President Carter welcomed Deng at a formal ceremony on the south lawn of the White House. Deng was invited to "review the troops" assembled on the south lawn. In the distance, pro-Taiwan demonstrators shouted loud enough to be heard, but not so loud that they could not be ignored.

Facing bleachers holding more than 1,000 photographers and reporters and one television camera, Carter declared it to be "a time when family quarrels are forgotten, a time when visits are made, a time of reunion and reconciliation."

RCP protesters.

His speech was interrupted twice by shouting protesters who were apparently members of the Revolutionary Communist Party and who oppose the course Deng is pursuing in China. "You can't make this into a garden party," shouted one of them. "Murderer, traitor," shouted the other. The secret service quickly quieted the protesters and dragged them off. Carter kept on reading his speech, pretending not to notice the disturbance.

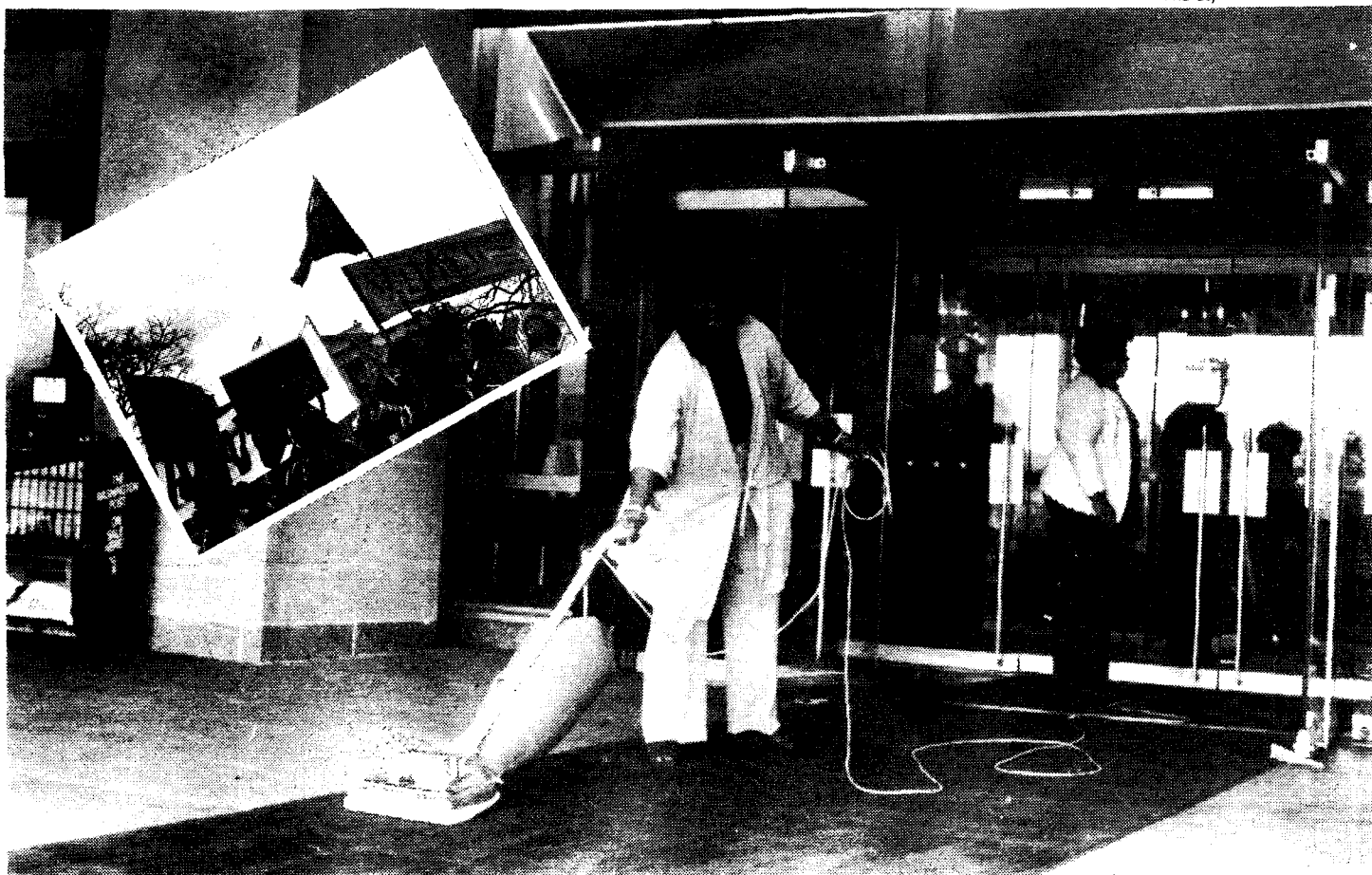
"We have not entered this relationship for short-term gains," declared President Carter that night at the state dinner honoring the vice premier and his wife, Madame Zhuo Lin.

Praising Deng's "ambitious modernization effort," Carter added that the "American people wish you well in these efforts."

The sumptuous dinner was attended by Richard Nixon, Henry Kissinger, and a handful of other private American citizens who had been invited to personally wish the vice premier well.

Among them were the chairmen of the boards of ten major U.S. corporations, including General Motors, Douglas Aircraft, General Electric, Pan Am, John Deere, Coca Cola, NCR, and Atlantic Richfield. Labor was represented by Douglas Fraser of the United Auto Workers.

The guest list for the banquet caused the White House one of the more embarrassing moments of Deng's visit. In drawing up the list, it not surprisingly ended up with no blacks. According to Jody Powell, Andy Young had been invited and declined. At the last moment Young was re-invited by the White House which, according to Powell, impressed upon him the seriousness of the situation. Young and his wife attended the banquet.



A woman prepares for Deng's arrival at a Washington hotel. Taiwanese protesters (inset).

The general population in Washington didn't seem to notice Deng's presence. But the business community wants to make the most of it.

Although most of the headlines during Deng's visit to Washington concerned his repeated allusion to the Soviet Union as a threat to world peace and China's Taiwan policy, the excitement behind the symbolic marriage of convenience that occurred here this week was clearly economic.

A State Department briefing memorandum stated almost breathlessly, "The Chinese leadership is committed to economic modernization and has set up an ambitious ten-year plan to pursue this goal.... Contracts for western plants and equipment worth more than \$8 billion have been signed; further negotiations could push the total to \$40-\$50 billion in the next few years."

So, while the general population in Washington did not even seem to notice Deng's visit ("Where are the parades?" asked one old timer), the business community did. Jack Dewenter, assistant to the president of the National Council on U.S.-China Trade, said that the tickets to Monday night's gala at the Kennedy Center were "the most coveted commodity" in Washington. Virtually all the board chairmen or chief executive officers of the Trade Council's 120-member corporations were to attend the event, he said.

Dewenter was delighted at Vice Premier Deng's "magnetic personality," which he felt would help create a "favorable impression for the President's normalization process" and "create many opportunities for trade." The Trade Council favors the quick resolution of differences with China so that it can be granted "most

favorable nation" status which will facilitate trade by allowing China to compete equally with other countries.

While the business community glowed and the public shrugged, a variety of groups protested the vice premier's visit.

Taiwanese protest.

Jih Shen Shy, a Taiwanese graduate student at the Illinois Institute of Technology, came to Washington to demonstrate his support for a free Taiwan. "We love freedom," said the 25-year-old son of a former Kuomintang air force officer as he stood in front of the White House with some 3000 others. "We have freedom, we have property in Taiwan. We cannot accept the communist system." Asked what he thought the future would bring, he replied, "Taiwan wants independence."

Throughout his visit Deng sought to assure members of Congress that China had no intention of using force to achieve the re-unification of Taiwan.

Members of the Revolutionary Communist Party, the group whose two members had disrupted the welcoming ceremony Monday morning, attacked police lines in front of the White House at about 7 p.m. Monday, just as the state dinner was about to begin. Witnesses said some 300 people attacked the police throwing bottles and other projectiles. Sixty-nine people were arrested and numerous people were injured by the police. At least one policeman was reported injured when he fell from his horse.

Deng met with Carter twice on Monday and again on Tuesday morning. Fol-

lowing the Tuesday meeting, White House press secretary Jody Powell said that it was the first meeting in which officials of the two countries could really get down to work. Carter met the briefing with Deng, accompanied only by a translator, and later with the full complement of people on both sides, which included Vice President Mondale, Secretary of State Vance, Brzezinski, four other U.S. officials and nine Chinese in addition to the vice premier.

Powell characterized Tuesday's meeting as "quite productive and positive."

He said that the U.S. also brought up the topic of exchanging journalists. He said that Carter pointed out that U.S. journalists are accustomed to free rein and Deng apparently responded that they had no fear of U.S. journalists saying what they want.

Love at first sight.

Powell was so enthusiastic in his description of how well Deng and Carter had got along, that he had to soften his statements: "I don't mean to say that there was a complete identity of views."

Powell also stated that the Chinese had repeated that they were not opposed to the SALT treaty which the U.S. is hoping to sign with the Soviet Union.

Also discussed were settlements of outstanding claims left between the two countries when relations were severed in 1949.

Powell stated that the President had made it clear to the Chinese that he desired their support for a peaceful resolution to the conflicts in southern Africa.

By way of attempting to show that the administration was obviously not bigoted in having forgotten to invite blacks, Powell cited the previous night's performance which featured several numbers from the Broadway show "Eubie" and the Harlem Globetrotters: "If there was ever a show which features black culture," he stated, "this was it." The Black Caucus had reportedly sent a telegram to the White House complaining about the lack of blacks on the guest list.

Late Wednesday, President Carter and Deng Xiaoping signed agreements on science and technology, cultural relations, journalist exchange and an agreement to establish consulates. The U.S. will start off with a consulate in Canton and Shanghai, the Chinese with consulates in San Francisco and Houston.

In signing the agreements, Carter called Deng a man who "speaks his mind and values results." Deng replied, "We have just done a significant job. And this is not the end, but the beginning."

Pinyin supercedes Wade-Giles

The *Peking Review* is now the *Beijing Review* and Teng Hsiao-ping is now Deng Xiaoping. These changes in Romanization of Chinese names were adopted officially by the Chinese on Jan. 1. The American government also is using the new system and official documents on Deng's visit all use the new spellings. The new Romanization, called Pinyin, supercedes the old Wade-Giles system.

Most of the U.S. press has continued to use the old system for the coverage of Deng's (Teng's) trip. However, as official documents only use the new spellings, it is increasingly difficult to adhere to the old style.

The new spelling system was devised by the Chinese to suit all languages using the Roman alphabet, including Esperanto.

—Richard Goldensohn

THE STATE OF BLACKS

Urban League finds "new negativism"

By Joanna Foley

NEW YORK

WHILE THE PRESIDENT'S speechwriters were still polishing his official State of the Union message, a more realistic alternative assessment, "The State of Black America, 1979," was presented to the American people a week earlier by the National Urban League.

Although sober warnings about the economy were at the heart of both messages, the League emphasized that the economy has a more direct negative impact on the lives of minorities. "When this economy sneezes, we get pneumonia," said League president Vernon Jordan in his introduction to the 250-page report. It explains why blacks will face a particularly chilly economic future if the economy cools off as predicted in the year ahead.

While Carter later spoke of building a new foundation, the League study had revealed the racism and class inequity upon which the present social structure is built. Black unemployment has reached its highest level in history, 23.1 percent, according to the NUL's hidden unemployment index which counts discouraged workers who don't show up in government figures.

The jobless gap between blacks and whites is wider than it has ever been and the income gap between the races continues to grow. What this means is that blacks, who have not yet recovered from the last recession in 1975, can expect to be hit with a new one before year's end, according to most economic forecasts.

The study, based on research by a number of leading black scholars, provided a context from which minorities and political activists could listen critically to Carter's message from the sponsors of the status quo. Drawing upon many sources



Jon Randolph

including the government's own figures, this fourth annual League study was the gloomiest to date in its economic assessment: "The state of black America today verges on the brink of disaster. 1979 promises to be a year of crises for America's black people."

The reality is in sharp contrast to the prevailing white misconception, according to the study, that blacks are "so safely anchored in middle class status" that the government need no longer make special efforts on their behalf. The facts are quite different: black family median income is \$9,242, compared to \$16,760 for

white families. Twenty-eight percent of black families are poor, compared to only 7 percent of whites. Black women family heads and black youth are particularly shortchanged by "lack of meaningful job opportunities." A growing percentage of black families is not making it economically today.

Special problems.

The study spotlighted a number of problems that will continue to be important to minorities in the year ahead. In education, the growing movement to force high school and elementary students to pass

minimum competency tests signals a return to a harsher era just as the 1954 desegregation decision heralded an age of empathy with minorities. When Florida, for example, insisted on a functional literacy test for high school diplomas, 42 percent of minority students failed, compared to 8 percent of whites. Fourteen states now require graduates to pass various tests, and blacks justifiably fear that testing is making a comeback as a strait-jacket that will magnify the educational effects of racism and poverty.

Bakke became the byword for struggles against affirmative action in 1978. However, the League, in contrast to many activists, believes it's still too early to assess clearly the damage caused by the case or what impact it had on black students who were potential medical school applicants. Still, the study admits that the proportion of blacks in first-year medical classes in 1978 had dropped to the lowest level since 1970.

Last year, the bare bones of a national urban policy to revitalize American cities began to emerge. Its goal was to make cities financially viable. The NUL criticizes the policy, or at least its skeletal form, for failing to touch some of the major problems faced by black urban dwellers: poverty, unemployment, lack of adequate housing and displacement by the middle class that drives up costs in certain neighborhoods through renovation.

In the face of continuing minority needs the League study finds white Americans increasingly self-absorbed in these times of economic stress. Caught in the grip of the "new negativism," the majority seems willing to sacrifice employment to battle inflation, using black people and poor people as cannon fodder.

Additional evidence of negativism was the relatively sparse news coverage which the League study received from the mainstream media. "It was largely ignored," says black columnist Chuck Stone, a veteran media-watcher who writes for the *Philadelphia Daily News*. "Except for stories in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, media reaction was a big yawn." Stone agrees with the League's assessment of the prevailing mood of negativism, but he prefers to call it "silent racism."

Ten thousand copies of the study were printed for distribution to community groups, libraries, government agencies, etc. Copies at \$7.50 each are available from the National Urban League, Communications Department, 500 E. 62nd St., New York, NY 10021.

ALABAMA PARADOX

Racist victim fights death sentence

By Thomas Noland

MONTGOMERY, ALA.

WHEN BRASH ATTORNEY General William Baxley said goodbye last week to the 52 lawyers who made up his staff, it was, many of them said, like the end of Camelot.

But while their King Arthur has gone—Baxley lost to Fob James in the Democratic runoff for governor last September—his ambivalent legacy survives in unresolved cases against white racist J.B. Stoner and Johnny Harris (Imani), a black man on death row.

Those two objects of Baxley's wrath are as different as day and night. Stoner is the flamboyant clown prince of race hatred who is being sought in connection with the bombing of a black Birmingham church 21 years ago.

Harris, quiet and thoughtful, was convicted of the 1974 murder of a prison guard who was killed in a riot at Atmore penitentiary. Baxley's zealous prosecution of the two reveals the baffling paradox not only of Baxley himself, but of the state of Alabama, which, as McLuhan would say, is rushing toward the future with its eyes glued to the rearview mirror.

Baxley's pursuit of Stoner, who is doggedly fighting extradition from Georgia, was a landmark in his struggle to solve the dozens of unpunished racial crimes of the '50s and '60s.

Along with the conviction of Robert Chambliss for the 1963 church bombing that killed four black girls, it cemented his

reputation as a genuine reformer. Alabama liberals hailed the young prosecutor for his courage in confronting an issue that, many say, led to his defeat by James, a conservative businessman.

At the same time, Baxley personally prosecuted Harris for a murder that not even Baxley is sure he committed. Harris, whose case has become a symbol in the Soviet Union of U.S. political repression, was convicted under a state law that allows for the murder verdict if the jury is convinced that a subject "aided and abetted" a killing—whether or not he pulled a trigger or plunged a knife.

Harris' trial did not establish that he actually killed guard Luell Barrow, but the jury thought there was enough evidence to show Harris participated in the riot that, in a strained sense, "caused" Barrow's death.

The inmate's defense—including his many appeals, still in progress—is a little-known story within the state. Alabamians are just getting over a century of poverty and two decades of national reproach, and would rather not be reminded of native injustices.

So last week's revelation in a Birmingham newspaper by a former Atmore inmate came as a shock. The inmate, Jesse David Jett, witnessed Barrow's killing and claims in a notarized affidavit that Harris is innocent.

Barrow was killed by two other inmates, according to Jett, who escaped to Ohio and were fighting extradition at the time of Harris' 1975 trial.

In the wake of Jett's revelations, the multi-faceted Harris defense team is gear-

ing up for a new assault. Diana Hicks, a Mobile attorney, said Jett's account is "the first by a live eyewitness" and "will be brought to the attention of the courts." Baxley's conservative successor, Charles Graddick, has promised to examine the Jett affidavit.

Most importantly, U.S. Rep. John Conyers (D-MI) has agreed to ask the Justice Department to intervene in the case, and to bring it before the House Judiciary Committee, on which he is fifth in seniority.

The department closed out an earlier investigation into the death of inmate George Dobbins, whose protest of Atmore's horrendous conditions led to the riot in which Barrow and himself were killed, by concluding there was insufficient evidence to prosecute anyone for his death.

Conyers objected to that last March and now, armed with Jett's evidence, he may be able to persuade Justice to file a brief similar to the precedent-setting document on behalf of the Wilmington 10, which asked North Carolina officials for a new trial for those convicted in the 1971 burning of a grocery store in racially tense Wilmington.

If so, Harris may escape the electric chair. But it looks like Alabama can't escape the pattern of the last 20 years—federal intervention to solve state problems—despite its recent New South prosperity. Washington integrated the schools, the overcrowded state prison system is under a federal court reform order and state elections have been subject to federal jurisdiction since 1965.

STEEL STRIKE

Workers may crack non-union South

By David Moherg

NEWPORT NEWS, VA.

SUDDENLY A DEEP-THROATED whistle blew its haunting note in the hazy, chilled morning atmosphere, marking the start of the day shift in the awesome concentration of shops, piers, and dry-docks along James River, home, since 1886, of the Newport News Shipbuilding Co.

It was echoed by a cheer from nearly 200 shipyard workers marching in front of one of the main gates of the nation's largest shipyards, which employed 25,000 people at its peak last spring. Carefully spacing themselves as they walked in front of local police decked out in riot gear and carrying baseball bat-sized truncheons, the picketers had been shouting "scab"—but none of the standard obscene epithets—at the trickle of workers and supervisors who passed through their line, often escorted ostentatiously and unnecessarily by the police.

"That's the whistle," Steelworkers union organizer Roosevelt Robinson exulted, clapping and rubbing his hands as he walked along the opposite side of the street. There, a large clump of men had gathered in front of the sandy luncheonerie—Que Pasa Restaurant and Kim's—and Sweden bookstore, the few businesses remaining in the shutdown area that survives by catering to shipyard workers on lunch-breaks.

"You don't have to go in," he said excitedly to those whose convictions may have been wavering, as if he were a football coach at the end of a game he'd just narrowly won. "We've got it, brothers. You don't have to go in."

Coach Robinson and fellow organizer Jack Hower, a former miner from Wyoming, had good reason to be pleased when the whistle blew on Jan. 31. Over two years earlier, they had begun with a small band of discontented workers. Now it was the first day of the strike by the new Steelworkers Local 8888 to force Newport News Shipbuilding, a division of the Houston-based Tenneco conglomerate since 1969, to sit down and bargain with the union. It looked like they might win.

Managers of the "Yard" had refused to negotiate. They had challenged as fraudulent the election held precisely one year earlier that ousted the independent Peninsula Shipbuilders Assn. (PSA), a union with intimate ties to management ever since it was founded in the 1920s as a company-sponsored employee representation plan, in favor of the Steelworkers.

NLRB rejected protest.

Last Oct. 27, the National Labor Relations Board rejected the company's protest of the results on the ground of balloting irregularities and illegitimate union propaganda. (In particular, accusations made just before the vote that PSA and company threats had deterred Martin Luther King Sr., from attending a union rally.) But the company appealed NLRB certification of the Steelworkers bargaining agent to the federal courts.

Union leaders saw the move as a delaying tactic, designed to weaken the Steelworkers' support in the Yard and perhaps eventually bring back the PSA, which Newport News Shipbuilding vice-president for corporate relations D.T. Savas openly supported in the 1978 election.

"I've said all along that somewhere they are going to challenge us," Hower said as he drove to a pre-strike lunchtime rally. "They want to test our strength. They want to see how much people here want the Steelworkers."

"The sixty-four dollar question," management spokesman James Griffith told me the day before the strike, "is how many people the Steelworkers can take out and keep out."

Having agreed on that much, the two antagonists share few other opinions, in-



Enthusiastic strikers at Newport News Shipbuilding at Newport News, Va., picket a gate of the Yard under the watchful eyes of police armed with baseball bat-sized truncheons.

cluding estimates on precisely how many workers the union actually pulled out the first day. The union claimed that only about 70 of 1000 workers on the midnight shift and between 2,200 and 2,500 of 9,000 workers overall—including supervision—crossed the picket line. The company said 5,500 came to work during the day. My own observations, and those of most other reporters, suggested that the Steelworkers' figure was closer to the mark.

The numbers are important, for the strike may drag on for some time, and strikers' determination will be tested. The company insisted that it will have its "day in court," and oral arguments will not

who are roughly half black with a growing minority of women. Yet some strikers thought that the scabs were more likely to be very young (interested only in the immediate money), very old (either frightened or loyal), ex-military personnel, the roughly 800-person core of PSA supporters and the individuals who had benefited over the years from supervisors' favoritism.

Across the street from the picketers, one man carrying his lunch preparing to cross the line was Stanley Howard, a 38-year-old black man who remains "PSA all the way." A former steward, Howard argued, "I have to take care of my family."

The old company union was undemocratic and unresponsive. We lost our rights. But we've got it now, Steel organizer tells strikers.

start on its challenge until March 7. In the meantime, there will be considerable pressure on those who waver about returning to the yards.

Money a threat.

Despite the strike fund, which allocates \$30 per member to be redistributed by the local according to need, there will be financial pressures that will undoubtedly be exacerbated by continuing pledges by the company and governor to enforce all Virginians' "right to work" and by the example of strikebreakers who continue to draw pay. Also, the union expects that the company will threaten to fire anyone who is out on strike for five days. If it appears that the strike has a solid, overwhelming majority, then many of those who now say they want to "wait and see" will stick with the union.

Some workers may have stayed away the first day out of fear of the widely predicted violence. A 1967 wildcat, the only previous strike at the yards, erupted in several days of street combat. But this time the Steelworker pickets appeared disciplined, even if the shouts of "scab" grew more virulent as the day progressed. Any violence would have provided a ready excuse for an injunction limiting the number of pickets, but the picketline peace may inspire a few people to cross over.

The strikebreakers appeared to represent a cross-section of the yard workers,

Nearby, two whites in their late 30s debated going in. Billy, a 14-year veteran, said, "That's a lot of time to throw away, but I want to be here another 14 years, and I want conditions to improve. The Steelworkers won the election. The shipyard is not dealing with them. I'd like to see it settled. But I don't believe you can win anything. Fighting Tenneco is like fighting Vepco (the local utility)—you can't win."

Although he thinks Tenneco is lying when it says that it will abide by the upcoming federal court decision and lamented having "nobody to turn to" now that even PSA is out, Billy was inclined to do what he had done so often when things went wrong in the past—"just turn your head and keep on trucking."

"You can't scare me."

But across the street, where there were occasional refrains at various gates of "We are fighting for our future," "We shall not be moved," or "You can't scare me, I'm sticking to the union," the sentiments were different. "Hey, I feel good," a young black picketer said smiling broadly. "We're not going to get anywhere without this."

In their organizing drive, the Steelworkers had faced two different but allied opponents—Newport News Shipbuilding and the PSA—who attacked the union as "outsiders" with a staff of organizers—on plush \$20,000-a-year

expense accounts—who were desperately trying to compensate for the loss of jobs the union had caused in the steel industry and would ultimately exercise arbitrary "power over people" and bring costly strikes.

The organizers, however, benefitted from a double bill of worker grievances. Discontent with PSA had grown in recent years as many workers felt that they were falling behind in wages and benefits, that the union was actually giving away many of their rights, that the union leadership was undemocratic and unresponsive and that it did little about grievances, especially on safety, while collaborating in management's pattern of favoritism.

Union representation—effectively and responsively—is consequently the foremost objective of workers on strike at Newport News. "I think money comes into it some, but just representation in between contracts, that's the problem," 35-year-old local Steelworkers president Wayne Crosby says. "But the company is afraid to talk to someone on their own level, as equals."

Because PSA doesn't fight on many grievances or try to establish work rules, as many workers argue, Newport News management has an extremely free hand in running the yard and desperately wants to keep it. "What they've had here is such a joyride that they don't want to give it up," says Lee Johnson, president of the designers local of the Steelworkers that has been on strike for 22 months against the company's unfair labor practices. "They've had such a free ride with PSA they want to keep it."

Yet if workers hadn't been at least as angry at management as at their old union, the Steelworkers would have made little headway. Wages, which were increased by 7 percent in November, now average \$6.55 an hour, according to management. But the average for the industry was around \$7.10 an hour last September, and over \$9 an hour at unionized yards in the Baltimore area. Although Newport News Shipbuilding recently substantially improved its pension plan, workers were scandalized by reports of veterans of 30 or 40 years retiring with pensions of under \$100 a month.

Fifth worst hazard.

Especially after two workers were killed last summer because a foreman had scaffolding improperly erected (for which the company was fined \$1470 by OSHA).

Continued on page 18.

LETELIER/MOFFITT MURDER

Witnesses support Townley testimony

A surprise a day

By Max Weisenfeld

WASHINGTON

Assistant U.S. Attorney Eugene Propper has sprung three surprise witnesses in as many days in the trial of the accused murderers of Orlando Letelier and Ronni Moffitt.

The witnesses corroborated the testimony of confessed DINA assassin, Michael Vernon Townley, and they added new details. More supporting testimony has come from the half-dozen FBI agents the government called this week.

Ricardo Canete, a former member of the Cuban Nationalist Movement and a paid FBI informant, revealed damaging testimony. The defendants—Guillermo Novo, head of the Cuban Nationalist Movement's "operational section," his lieutenant, Alvin Ross, and his brother, Ignacio—all mentioned in Canete's testimony, are charged with the car bombing that killed Letelier and Moffitt Sept. 21, 1976, and related crimes.

Canete told the court that Ross boasted of building the Letelier bomb. Ignacio and Novo told Canete that he expected to receive counterfeit \$100 bills, from Chile, as aid from "his friend in DINA." (The Chilean secret police who allegedly ordered the assassination.)

Ignacio Novo, according to Canete, arranged for the purchase of "40 or 50 pounds" of marijuana. Canete further reported that Ignacio Novo tried to obtain false documents from him for "friends" who had "left some bodies behind" and wanted to get out of the country.

Two right-wing Chilean journalists covering the trial for *El Mercurio* and *El Cronista* were asked to leave the country by the FBI. The journalists allegedly arranged to provide defense lawyers Paul Goldberger and Larry Dubin with secret Chilean investigation reports concerning the Letelier case.

The press release from the Council on Hemispheric Affairs that was distributed in the courthouse earlier this week alleging that the Justice Department had given up attempts to extradite the three Chileans indicted in this case, Gen. Manuel Contreras, Col. Pedro Espinosa, and Capt. Armando Fernandez, was vehemently denied by U.S. attorney Propper. Defense lawyer Dubin, upon receiving a copy of the press release, read portions into the record and protested any inactivity of the American government. Propper made an immediate and absolute denial.

All in a day's work, Townley testifies

By Saul Landau

WASHINGTON

The details of Chile's Gen. Augusto Pinochet's international murder activities and the organization of his hit squad have begun to leak out, thanks to innuendos in the testimony of Michael Vernon Townley, the U.S. government's star witness in the Letelier-Moffitt murder trial, now in its fourth week here.

On the witness stand, this man whom FBI agents and prosecutors have described as "a nice guy" speaks politely, with control, occasional humor, and always with great specificity. "True, but incomplete," he often answers to cross examination questions. "Correct." "Incorrect."

"No sir, I have no regrets about killing Mr. Letelier. He was a soldier in his army, his party. I was a soldier in mine. I received an order to eliminate Mr. Letelier. I carried it out to the best of my abilities. I do have regrets, sir, deep regrets, about the other person in the car." The other person was Ronni Moffitt, Letelier's col-



Relatives of disappeared persons demonstrate in Santiago, Chile. The sign reads: "My husband and niece were taken alive. No to presumed death."

league, who was riding to work with him in the car that Townley and his Cuban exile chums had rigged with a bomb.

But other "missions" took place. Townley describes how his "Service," meaning DINA, Pinochet's political police, sent him to Mexico to assassinate Carlos Altamirano and Volodia Teitelboim in 1975. Then Townley went to Europe. But here the U.S. government interrupted Townley's testimony. The government had made deals, it turns out, beyond the plea bargain with Townley.

They can ask only about crimes committed in the U.S. or against U.S. citizens. Prosecutor Eugene Propper's boss, Earl Silbert, head of major crimes for the Department of Justice, had signed an agreement with his Chilean equivalent pledging the U.S. not to tell any foreign governments of any DINA crimes in their jurisdictions revealed by the Letelier-Moffitt investigation.

But information on these crimes leaks out. Townley had been assigned to kill Olaf Palme, in 1975, in Europe. The Swedish prime minister was in Madrid at a meeting. In addition, Pinochet had selected for death certain exiled Chilean military officials living in Belgium and Germany.

In Paris, Townley made another abortive attempt to kill Altamirano. In Rome, in the fall of 1975, he worked with Italian fascists to kill Christian Democratic leader Bernardo Leighton. The attempt led to the wounding of Leighton and the paralyzing of his wife.

Townley sent explosives to his Cuban accomplices from Chile in LAN Chile planes, using the pilots to carry materials through customs. He tells how LAN offices at JFK Airport were used for meetings with his surveillance officer, Capt. Fernandez, who gave him a map of Letelier's house and route to work, plus infor-

mation on Letelier's car, license plate, and work routine.

Paul Goldberger and Larry Dubin, who represent the Cuban defendants, try to show the jury how Townley plea-bargained to get a sweet deal for himself and for his wife, Mariana, also a DINA agent who was involved in various assassination missions. In return for testifying, he received a 42-month to ten-year sentence, and immunity for his wife and for all other crimes.

They try to show Townley as a master CIA mole, a corrupt liar, a monster killer. Townley responds: "I did what any normal husband would do to protect his wife." A normal husband who follows orders.

Townley's lawyers, Glanzer and Levine, counsel him on when he should take the Fifth Amendment regarding his various murder "missions." The prosecutor, Eu-

Continued on page 18.

Chilean press censors self on trial

By Marcelo Montecino

SANTIAGO

When Christian Democratic weekly *HOY* on Jan. 10 asked ousted air force general Gustavo Leigh what kind of control the junta had over the activities of the secret police, he answered: "DINA answered directly to the President of the Republic. Although it's true that it was born through a decree that made it responsible to the Junta, the President never allowed any participation in its operations."

This basic political conclusion has been scrupulously avoided in the exceptionally heavy coverage by the self-censored Chilean press of the Letelier-Moffitt trial in Washington, D.C. Four Santiago dailies and all three weekly news magazines have sent correspondents to cover the "trial of the decade," as one tabloid characterized it.

With the notable exception of *HOY*, the strategy of the Chilean press has been to call the case "a police matter," devoid of any political connotation. As a police matter, the daily press covers the case with a wealth of detail, much of it peripheral, designed to confuse the reader. The occasional reader is hard pressed

to get a complete picture of the conspiracy and its implications.

Chilean correspondents in Washington have focused on the incidental aspects of the trial to demonstrate that the "enemies of Chile are engaged in an international propaganda campaign" to get political mileage out of the event.

La Segunda, an afternoon tabloid belonging to the Edwards conglomerate, has spearheaded a campaign to defame the Institute for Policy Studies, where Letelier and Moffitt worked. Emilio Bakit has extensively reported on activities of the "left-wing institute."

Prosecutor Eugene Propper has also been singled out for special treatment. Stories often point out his political ambitions and his "elegant suits." Propper has been characterized as a man driven by ambition, who is using this trial as a springboard for future office.

Pilar Vergara, who usually covers the theater and the movies for *El Mercurio*, Dean of the Chilean press, described Propper's opening statement as "truly a political speech."

A racist note, perhaps inadvertently, has also been injected into the coverage. Without exception, every publication

has noted that the jury is composed of 12 blacks, a disturbing element to a homogenous Chilean society, unfamiliar not only with jury trials but with the racial composition of Washington, D.C. The stories state that the jury is made up of humble, uneducated people, "who are probably unable to understand the complexities of the case."

The most glaring aspect of the Chilean press' handling of the assassination trial has been the obvious editorial slant. While the moral or ethical considerations of political assassination are condemned, Letelier is constantly portrayed as an "enemy of Chile." The affair is written off as the acts of three secret police agents who exceeded their authority.

The long extradition proceedings of the three Chilean army officers indicted have also been clouded. Defense lawyers for the accused hold regular and lengthy press conferences in which exotic theories are aired. Echoing the strategy for the defense in the trial, the lawyers have stated that Michael Townley was really a CIA agent that infiltrated DINA and murdered Letelier in a U.S.-Cuban conspiracy to destabilize the Pinochet regime.

ARMS CONTROL

Peace groups attack hawk in dove's coop

By A. Lin Neumann

WASHINGTON

HEARINGS WERE HELD BY the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week on the controversial appointment of Gen. George M. Seignious (ret.) to replace outgoing Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA) head Paul Warnke.

The appointment of Seignious raises concerns regarding, in Foreign Relations Committee chairman Sen. Frank Church's (D-ID) words, "the appropriateness of having an ex-military man as head of the arms control agency." But the appointment is not expected by Hill observers to have much difficulty in the committee. In fact, the appointment is seen as President Carter's bid to shore up support for the proposed SALT II agreement by having a military man to quiet the voice of Senate hawks.

Seignious' credentials as a supporter of arms control were questioned severely by several witnesses and members of the arms control community here. Admiral Gene LaRoque (ret.) who once served with him, characterized the general as a hawk and said, "Since we've not yet reached the agreement (SALT II), he's the very worst to negotiate it."

Jeremy Stone, director of the prestigious Federation of American Scientists (FAS), said his group was strongly opposed to the presence of a military man on an agency designed to limit the spread of arms. He characterized Seignious as "naive and inexperienced" in the mix of Washington politics, as well as having ties to the conservative Coalition for Peace Through Strength, a group that has condemned the SALT negotiations.

Gen. Seignious' appointment as head of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency is widely criticized at Senate committee hearings.

Seignious asserted that he no longer has any contact with that coalition. Stone and FAS further feel that the Seignious appointment would "sever the agency from its constituency" and prove to be a "booby trap for the administration."

Seignious, in his testimony, said, "It is high time that arms control became a central component of national security policy." He has been an at-large negotiator during the SALT II negotiations in between his time as president of the Citadel, a South Carolina military academy, and claims a high degree of commitment to the principle of arms control that he sees as compatible with a strong defense. "It is a fallacy to believe that because one believes in a strong defense he cannot believe in arms control."

When a member of the committee asked the general about the opposition to his appointment voiced by, among others, the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, he responded that his critics were "ungrateful" considering his long years of service. He said those who testify against him will "only lose their credibility."

In addition to FAS, Women's Interna-



Gen. George M. Seignious, named by President Carter to head arms control agency.

tional League for Peace and Freedom, the United Methodist Church, World Federalists, Sane, and Women's Strike for Peace are strongly against the appointment.

Another group, Foreign Affairs Information Project, based at Columbia University, raised objections to the shape of U.S. foreign policy which the appointment represents.

They cited the affair as a ploy of presidential Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski to gain control of ACDA. Jim Khatami, chairman of the Project, said, "Brzezinski has hinted...the U.S. can re-

assert its global primacy over the Soviets by facing them down in a nuclear confrontation."

Other sources confirm the fact that the Seignious choice was a Brzezinski decision. An aide at the White House told one questioner, "We don't know anything about it [the Seignious appointment], it's a Brzezinski appointment."

The Church committee, however, did not respond to the broader issues raised by Khatami. Church said, "The question of Mr. Brzezinski's position is not now before the committee."

JERRY BROWN

The governor makes his cuts sound leftish

By Larry Remer

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.

JERRY BROWN MAY HAVE his sights set on the White House, but he's clearly in the doghouse with Democratic Party regulars in his home state. Anti-Brown sentiment boiled over at the state Democratic Party Convention here in mid-January, where Brown played to a mixture of cheers and boos as reaction built to his headline grabbing assault on government spending the week before.

Brown's travails lived up an otherwise dull gathering where the major item on the agenda was selection of state chairman, a largely ceremonial post since organized political parties in California have little formal power.

A clear majority of the 2,000 delegates were angered by Brown's new state budget, which holds hikes in public aid payments and public employee wages to less than half the rate of inflation. Many delegates were also disturbed by Brown's call for a Constitutional Convention to draft an Amendment that would force the federal government to balance its budget—a move widely heralded as a definitive shift to the right for Brown.

The point man in the attack against Brown was State Assembly Speaker Leo McCarthy, who is admittedly gearing up to make a bid for the statehouse in 1982 when Brown's term is over. Without mentioning Brown by name, McCarthy delivered a blistering attack on the Governor at a luncheon on the first day of the con-

fab. "This party had its proudest moments

when it was guided by visionary leaders who gave voice to the underprivileged and dispossessed," McCarthy declared.

Wearing a button with "\$28" stamped on it to connote the monthly differential in aid payments to the blind and disabled under Brown's budget, McCarthy pledged to fight to restore the funds in the legislature.

Barely half an hour later Brown appeared before the convention to defend his positions. The boos and cheers were

yourself, "Where did those hundreds of billions of dollars go?"

"Did it go to the poor? Did it go for better education? Or did it go to dictators? Did it go for arming the Shah of Iran? Did it go to kill people in Vietnam?"

"While I hear invocations of the needs of the many, I see a theory that props up the privileges of the few," he stated. "And that kind of Democratic Party philosophy I reject. I reject it today and I reject it tomorrow."

"Where did those hundreds of billions of dollars go?" Brown asks. "To the poor, or for better education? Or to foreign dictators?"

evenly split upon his arrival, yet the young governor took to the offensive, lashing back at his critics.

"I'll be glad to debate any Democrat to test the qualities of leadership," he declared, challenging McCarthy's statements. "Who are the timid souls of this party? Are they the ones who serve up the rhetoric of the '60s and ignore the realities of the '80s?"

It was Brown's strongest indication yet that he doesn't plan to backtrack on his stance that the federal budget should be balanced. As he spoke, his face turned red and his voice rose to an almost undecipherable shout in a rare display of emotion.

"Why is the dollar going down?" he asked. "Is it because we've had hundreds of billions of dollars of deficit spending? ...[and] did anyone in this room ever ask

It is time to challenge "the cherished myths of liberalism," declared Brown in defense of his call for a balanced federal budget. It was "the best and the brightest," he continued [who] told us all we have to do is spend more money, and if that doesn't work print more; and if that doesn't work, print still more."

He called for an end to federal expenditures of more than \$50 billion annually in foreign aid to "dictatorships like Korea, where they pay labor 90¢ an hour to make goods that are sold here undercutting our own markets." He urged energy self-sufficiency, limits on imports, and the development of a Common Market-like economic unit involving Mexico, the U.S. and Canada.

In an impassioned plea, Brown urged, "Don't yield this issue to the far right." He repeatedly brought up Vietnam, which

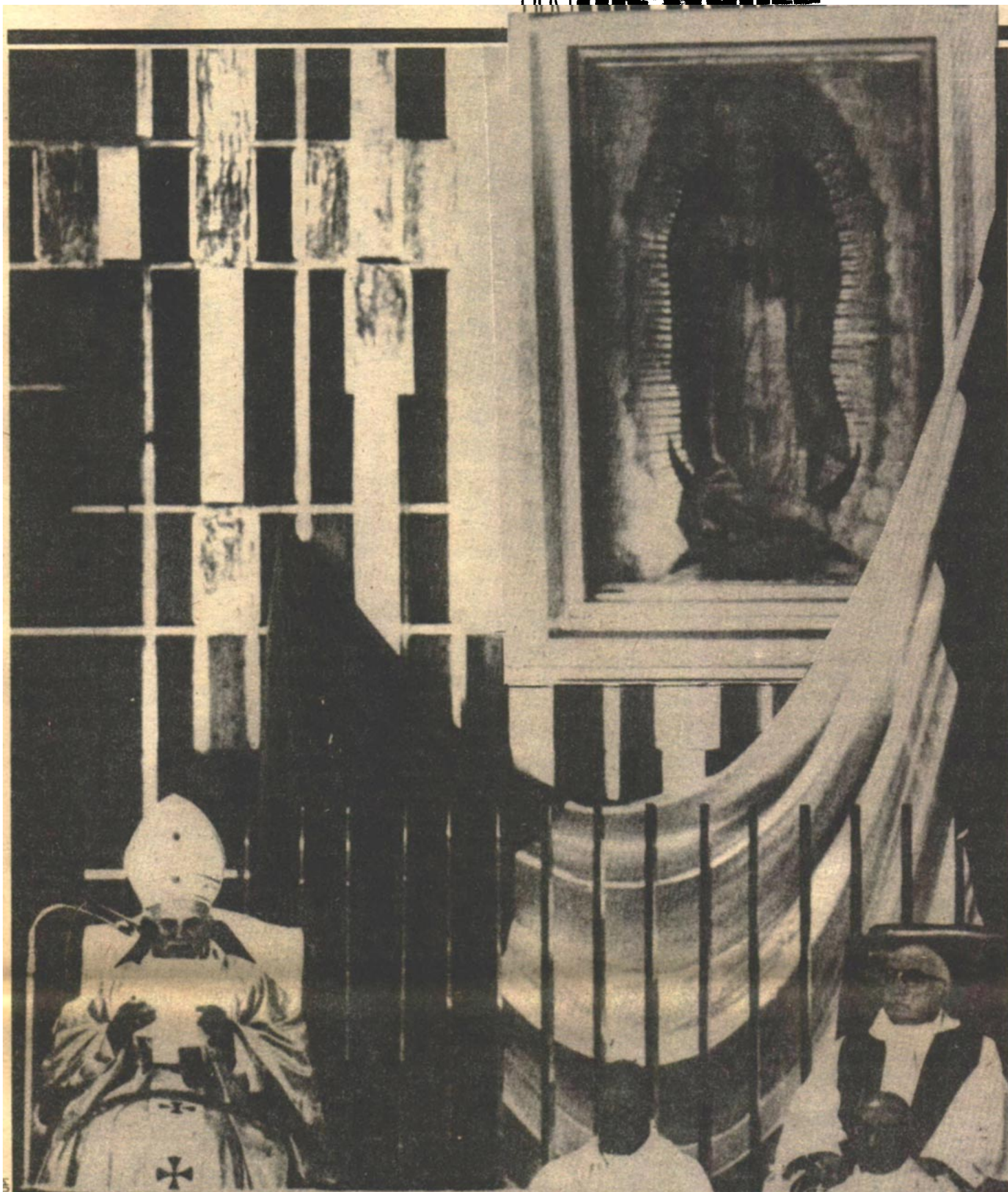
he said the American people were hoodwinked into supporting through deficit financing. And he linked his own opposition to the war and support of Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers in the late '60s as part of the search for new directions—a search he insists his call for a balanced budget is in harmony with. Were the federal government to be forced to balance its budget, Brown argued, the petense that the country could have "guns and butter" would have to be shelved, and the fight over priorities would commence.

Seeking to meet his critics head on, he opened up the microphone to questions from the floor. It was a masterful display of Brown's statesmanship and political acumen. The questions came hot and heavy and he parried them with ease.

No, he wasn't firm with trimming the level of public aid. But the electorate in a post-Prop. 13 California would only stand for so much government spending and if aid levels were raised, cuts would have to come from somewhere else. Yes, he'd be willing to explore the use of public pension fund monies to finance socially useful programs like housing instead of investments in corporations with South African operations and if legislation permitting changes in investment policies reached his desk he'd sign it. And yes, he is sincere about the need for a Constitutional Convention. Its scope can be limited to one issue. It may be the only way to force Congress to act.

By the end of the session, Brown had mollified his critics. And though the applause wasn't as warm as it had been for McCarthy, when he was done the boos had vanished.

IN THE WORLD



Sitting in front of the sacred shroud of the Virgin of Guadalupe, Pope John Paul II inaugurates the third general conference of the Latin American Episcopate at the Basilica of Guadalupe.

THE POPE IN MEXICO

A Mexican bishop speaks for his country's people

CUERNAVACA, MORELOS, MEXICO

The following are excerpts from a manifesto read here, Jan. 21, by Mendes Arceo, Bishop of Morelos, viewed as the most left-wing bishop in Mexico. He was not invited to the Bishop's conference convened at Puebla the following weekend. The document is translated by Cedric Belfrage, who resides in Cuernavaca.

Welcome to Mexico, John Paul II

We Christians of Morelos, together with our Bishop, reaffirm our communion in charity with the successor to Peter, and rejoice that his testimony of love and respect for mankind inspires us to proclaim the more valiantly Jesus' liberating message to the poor.

Our countries grew up in the faith as adherents of...an Evangelization integrated with a colonial system for which papal concessions provided justification. This adherence also gained strength from the fact that it was, at the same time, a shield for Latin American Churches against that same colonial power (16th century). Even in the difficult days of the struggles for independence (17th and 19th centuries),

our communion with Rome grew to the point of becoming a distinctive characteristic of Latin American Catholicism, even more so of Mexican Catholicism (Latin American Plenary Council).

John Paul II, elected Pope on Oct. 16, 1978, was born in Poland, a country with a socialist government. Thus he has the advantage of having lived a new and different experience, in a world that is not the capitalist world now inhabited by most Catholics, but the world of socialism to which not a few Latin American Catholics aspire.

For that reason his visit is not like that of a tourist indifferent to our reality; nor like that of a Pole drawn by apparent superficial similarities between Mexico and Poland; nor like that of a conquistador extending his power to our country. He is in the way to encounter here the Christ who suffers within the Latin American people (340 million inhabitants), who struggle to make justice a reality in our continent. He comes to fulfill the exigencies that Jesus posed to his followers (Matt. 25). His decision to turn over the gifts he receives to the liberation programs for the indigenous population is a small

but hopeful sign of his commitment to man, after the manner of Jesus, "who came not to be served, but to serve." (Matt. 20, 28.)

However, different groups are trying to turn his visit to their advantage. Private enterprise...tries to conceal the wounding Mexican reality and portray a fervent Mexico that exalts the papal figure as a symbol of the power of their conservative ideology, irrationally opposed to social change. Big merchants are already calculating the huge profits they will make. Conservative liberals...seek arguments to bolster their demagoguery. Neo-liberal elements will be looking for recruits among the great Catholic electorate. In sum, here in this pluralistic but traditionally Catholic Mexico the Pope's visit is opportune for the various pressure groups.

How do the Pope's host people live?

The people of Mexico, as of all Latin American countries, have a long history of domination and plunder, from the days of the conquest (16th century) to the imperialistic capitalism of our own day.

None can deny that our country lives

in economic, political and cultural dependence upon the United States and other potent countries which exercise organized dominance from outside, through the ever-growing economic power of multinational corporations.

Internally, we also live subject to every kind of repression: from the nullification of popular will in elections to the murderous persecution and "disappearance" of persons and groups fighting for a free society....

John Paul II will note that Mexico is not a poor country in natural resources; we are divided between brothers living in the most offensive opulence and brothers living in the most humiliating poverty; brothers who control the means of production and share absolute power, and brothers who are denied just payment for their work and who suffer deepening pauperization.

What is the Pope coming to Mexico for?

We could very easily fall into the temptation of waxing enthusiastic just because [of the Pope's visit. But] he comes to inaugurate the work of the Bishops assembled in Puebla, as Paul VI did ten years ago in Medellin, Colombia.

The resolutions of that Second General Conference in Medellin have become for many Latin American Christians the guide to a change of mentality and to liberating action. From it stemmed a Church more committed to the process of liberation, sealed since then by the persecution, imprisonment and martyrdom of more than 850 bishops, priests, nuns and lay persons, who valiantly opted for the poor and oppressed. Medellin inspired us to reject the division between rich and poor as totally contrary to God's will and clearly condemned by the Lord Jesus. (Luke 18.25; Matt. 25.31-46.)

That conference reminded us that we Christians have the duty to follow the program proclaimed by Jesus in the synagogue at Capernaum according to Luke 4.18-19 (Medellin documents 14.7), and showed us how the poor are the privileged receivers of the Gospel (Medellin Documents 14.8-9)....

Third General Conference of Latin American Bishops

Let us ask God to reinforce our hope that the Pope and Bishops participating in the Third General Conference will come out in solidarity with the historic mission of the poor and with those who suffer persecution in the cause of justice (Matt. 5. 1-12); that they will denounce the military regimes and the supposedly democratic ones responding to the Doctrine of National Security, and call for a change without taking refuge in a "third road"—that is, an intermediate road which, claiming to repudiate equally the capitalist and socialist systems, in effect stands on the side of capitalism.

Their loyalty to God will move them not to close their ears to the tumultuous clamor of our peoples, and to faithful theological reflections on its practical implications. As Monsr. Oves, the Archbishop of Havana, has said, "This gathering will be a hopeful one for the poor."

Because of his positions on collegialism since he was Archbishop of Cracow, confirmed by various indications he has given in Rome, the Pope's presence at the Third General Conference will animate the words of the Latin American bishops. And this despite those who would misinterpret the Pope by thinking he comes to introduce, impose or imply a substitute fixed road leaving no possibility for search by the prayers, pastoral experience and commitment of each Bishop participating at Puebla.

We are distressed to note the absence of many bishops identified with the struggle of the poor, and of theologians committed to thinking "from the world of the oppressed." We also regret the absence of bishops and experts of the oppressed and estranged Hispanic people in the U.S.A....

Presbytery of Cuernavaca, January 1979

ISRAEL

Palestinians want peace with Israel but a separate state

By David Mandel

JERUSALEM

THE PALESTINIANS HAVE THE power to derail any attempt at a Middle East settlement that does not take into account their national demands. Other popular national liberation movements, when in conflict with American designs, have forced concessions. But in the definition of "Palestinian rights" there is no strong unification and there are strong possibilities of cooptation along the way that may lead to further splits.

At first impression, Elias Freij and Karim Khalaf, mayors of the West Bank towns of Bethlehem and Ramallah, appear very similar. Both insist that their constituents' political representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Both demand that the "autonomy" plan devised at Camp David be replaced by something that would lead to an independent Palestinian state on the West Bank and Gaza. Both believe that such a state could live in peace with Israel, even in confederation with it.

Freij was one of the few "pro-Jordanian" mayors re-elected when the Israeli occupation authorities permitted West Bank residents to choose municipal leaderships in April, 1976. "There can be no military solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict," he says.

"We Palestinians need peace more than anyone. It is Israel that has rejected any real autonomy, by grabbing more land, starting new settlements in the territories, expanding existing ones and making provocative statements about how it will continue to exercise real control."

Khalaf echoes Freij.

"I am against war," echoes Karim Khalaf, who, like most of the 1976 winners, campaigned against Hussein, in the name of the PLO. "I know that most Jews in Israel want peace, too. There must be Jewish-Palestinian cooperation in the struggle for peace."

But the mayors' unity is real only to a certain point. It reflects the position taken by the PLO and all Arab states except Egypt at the Baghdad summit conference last November (see *IT*, Nov. 22-28, 1978). Tactics and, ultimately, politics separate the two. However, Mayor Freij believes that the Carter administration is interested in restoring Palestinian rights, and that Israel's position can be changed through persuasion by American and other world leaders.

Thus, he willingly met with Sen. Harry Byrd in December, and other Palestinians who share Freij's opinion held similar meetings with Harold Saunders and Alfred Atherton in recent months.

In contrast, Karim Khalaf and many other West Bank figures refused to meet the Americans. "If they want to negotiate with the Palestinians," he said, "they know how to find our recognized leadership—the PLO—in Beirut, at the UN or in many other places."

Kalaf's basic distrust of American policy dominates the West Bank today. "Official" Israeli non-recognition of the occupation and verbal objection to establishment of Jewish settlements have had little deterrent effect on the repressive military regime and the development of colonial relations between Israeli and Palestinian workers, peasants and small bourgeoisie.

Khalaf stresses unity.

Khalaf speaks of "solidarity with democratic forces and the socialist world" in

Yassir Arafat's first deputy speaks of open frontiers between the two states, leading to dialogue, with peaceful reunification as the ultimate goal.

pressing Palestinian demands. But he insists that he has no basic difference with people like Freij, who clearly represents a conservative stream within West Bank society.

The mainstream of Palestinian political thought today, represented by Khalaf, is militant nationalist, not socialist—a reaction to national more than to class oppression.

Nevertheless, the prevailing mistrust of American motives among West Bank residents—and the PLO—has opened many minds to more systematically radical ideas. Israeli occupation and the U.S. role in supporting it have spawned a stronger class consciousness among Palestinians than elsewhere in the Arab world.

Recent crackdowns by Israel have concentrated on leftist elements (see last week's *IT*), apparently in recognition of the fact that they pose the most dangerous threat to possible attempts at winning cooperation of the West Bank's traditional pro-Jordanian leadership.

Ibrahim Dakak is a Palestinian socialist living in Jerusalem, an architect by profession. He points to the various social upheavals taking place in the region—Iran, Lebanon, Ethiopia, Turkey, Afghanistan—as all having an effect on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Arab states polarized.

Sadat's initiative, Dakak says, is polarizing the Arab states into a reactionary bloc of regimes most concerned with the communist threat to their rule, and a progressive bloc favoring a more equitable distribution of oil revenues, faster technological development and a higher standard of living for its people. The Camp David accords are only one element of the struggle, he says. They would strengthen



Karim Khalaf, mayor of Ramallah (above) and Elias Freij, mayor of Bethlehem (below).

on the U.S. and the reactionaries, if successful, but at the same time, sharpen the region's polarization.

The same left-right struggle exists within the Palestinian movement, according to Dakak, with a large center subject to both influences. "If the U.S. does push for Palestinian independence in the end, which is one possible result of continued struggle against the current proposal, we shall accept it, of course. In elections under such conditions, the present centrist PLO leadership would win, claiming 'revolutionary' victory. But the second election, after it becomes clear what kind of state they mean to create, will be much more interesting."

Communist editor of the persecuted East Jerusalem weekly *a-Talia*, Bashir Barghuty, describes the class basis of the potential political divisions within a Palestinian state: "The bourgeoisie would win a majority at first, based on its radical image today. Small landowners and shopkeepers have been radicalized by Israeli national oppression and by U.S. policy in support of it. But they still have no basic conflict with King Hussein, who has reconciled with the PLO."

"If a modified, more tempting version of Camp David were to be proposed," Barghuty predicts, "the pro-Jordanians could neutralize the peasants with promises that the Israeli threat to their land

would end. But there is a large reservoir of radicalism among Palestinian workers, not to mention many refugees who might return. The left would gain strength when the bourgeoisie fails to solve the new state's social and economic problems."

Palestinian state demanded.

Reports of the PNC discussions, that ended on Jan. 25, indicate that they centered on political-diplomatic strategy—for instance, whether or not to pursue PLO reconciliation with Jordan. The "rejectionist-moderate" debate was apparently unimportant, if it existed at all. But the strategic differences still prevented adoption of a clear peace program. A major escalation of violence during the meeting, including bombings in Israel, infiltration and shelling in both directions across the Lebanese-Israeli border, and assassination of a top aide to Arafat in Beirut, certainly contributed as well. Nevertheless, to the careful reader of recent PLO statements and the November Baghdad resolutions that the Palestinians endorsed, there is no doubt that they are united in their demand for a separate state.

In what may be interpreted as part of a debate leading up to the PNC meeting, several very dovish statements were made by Palestinian leaders recently. PLO Paris representative Ibrahim Souss said Dec. 19 that the organization "would stop violent attacks" and grant "de facto recognition" to Israel in return for creation of a state on the West Bank and Gaza.

Souss quoted Arafat as having told an American congressman the same thing, and Abu Iyad, Arafat's first deputy, spells it out in even more detail in a book of interviews published in early January in Paris. He speaks of open frontiers between the two states, leading to dialogue, and sees reunification as an ultimate goal, to be achieved peacefully.

"A class struggle will take over from the nationalist type of confrontation and set, face to face, on one side the Jewish and Arab masses and on the other their exploiters and the imperialists, those very ones who created hatred between our two peoples before leading them into war," Abu Iyad predicts.

Words like these are what now unite Begin, Dayan, Weizman and company with Sadat, Saudi Arabia, and the U.S. State Department, despite tactical differences all around. These forces all agree that a way must be found to defuse the radicalization among the Palestinian people which has been fed by their intense national oppression.



We are pleased to announce that Diana Johnstone, who has been a correspondent for *IN THESE TIMES* for two years, will be covering France, Italy, Germany, the formerly French-ruled parts of Africa and Indochina for us on a full-time basis starting with this issue. From now on, Johnstone will write weekly roundups of European events and regular on the spot, in-depth stories on current developments.

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

T IRED OF BEING TREATED LIKE the fifth wheel on the five-party parliamentary "majority of National Unity," propping up the one-party Christian Democratic (DC) government of Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti, the Italian Communist party (PCI) finally withdrew its support on Jan. 26. Andreotti resigned and the search for a new governing *combinazione* was on.

Reviewing his party's many grievances, Enrico Berlinguer suggested ruefully that the PCI's "sense of responsibility" had been taken for a mere "readiness to give in," on the theory that the communists "had to belong to the majority to obtain some sort of democratic legitimacy." He denied this with restrained indignation.

By upholding the government's controversial austerity and anti-terrorist policies more consistently than the DC itself, the PCI has served as a lightning rod for hostile public opinion, while powerless to apply the policies it has defended.

It has grown increasingly divided over whether to go on trying to be a "governing party" or return to the opposition.

PCI wanted slowdown.

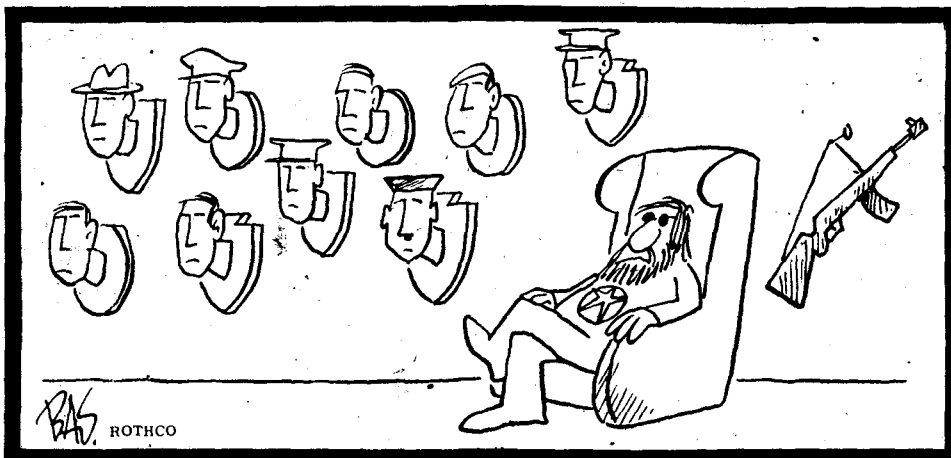
The PCI was virtually shoved out of the supporting majority last Dec. 14, when the Andreotti government decided to take Italy straight into the European monetary system despite objections from its Socialist and Communist partners. The PCI merely wanted to slow down and demand a *quid pro quo*, since keeping the lira tied to the mark will be very costly.

The PCI has long regarded the Common Market as potentially good for the Italian economy, if only Italy's representatives would be more alert, efficient and consistent in defending the people's real interest.

The Andreotti government's cave-in on the crucial monetary issue was just the sort of hasty retreat before German pressure that, on the contrary, can relegate Italy to semi-colonial status, with no shred of control over its economy. Post-war Italy's 38th cabinet crisis was thus its first "European" one.

Berlinguer also explained that his party was forced to leave the majority by "constant attacks" from partners who failed to treat the PCI with "mutual respect and honesty"—referring to the re-

ITALY Communists quit, government falls



cent anti-Communist ideological campaign waged by Bettino Craxi's Socialist party (PSI) with an eye to the June 10 European Parliamentary elections. The campaign revived the notion that Communists are ideologically unfit to take part in democratic government.

If no new combination is worked out and early elections have to be held, all signs indicate the PCI would lose the big gains it made in June 1976, when it peaked to over 34 percent of the vote, and that the DC would recoup its losses.

But the PCI may count on its Socialist rival to avoid such an extremity, since early elections would upset Craxi's plans to build up the PSI by a strong showing in the European elections, before turning back to Italian voters as the "European" party.

PSI motives.

As usual, Berlinguer suggested solving the latest crisis by bringing Communists into the government. This never seemed less likely. DC chairman Benigno Zaccagnini, just back from Washington, soothingly denied any "discrimination" against the PCI, but said, "a realistic evaluation of the internal and international situation" ruled out its direct participation in government.

Since it officially left the opposition in August 1976 to join a "majority of non-confidence," the PCI has been illustrating the ancient Greek philosopher Zeno's paradoxes of the arrow which never reaches the target, or the runner who never overtakes the tortoise, thanks to a system of advancing always by only half the distance left to cover. By now, the party itself doesn't seem to know whether it is coming or going.

The likeliest solution now would be to

bring non-DC ministers into the next cabinet, probably from the small Republican and Social Democratic parties, but as "representatives of the coalition" rather than of their parties, so that the Socialists and Communists can be kept in the "supporting majority."

Such a combination would not need PCI votes for parliamentary approval, if the PSI went along with it. The PCI leadership would then have to choose: either support the government from the outside and try yet again to persuade the rank and file that "a step forward" had been taken, or else go into opposition.

Mystery in Milan

At 37, Emilio Alessandrini was one of Milan's leading state's attorneys, greatly admired on the left for his bold investigations of the 1969 Piazza Fontana Bank bombing that killed 16 people and was initially pinned on anarchist Pietro Valpreda. Alessandrini uncovered the so-called "Black Trail" leading to neo-fascists Franco Freda and Giovanni Ventura, who were finally brought to trial a few months ago in Catanzaro, Southern Italy. But last October, Franco Freda escaped from his guards, followed on Jan. 15 by Giovanni Ventura.

On Jan. 29, Emilio Alessandrini was gunned down in Milan as he stopped for a red light after driving his son to school. The killing was claimed by an ultra-left urban guerrilla group called Prima Linea (Front Line), which started recruiting youth from the anti-organized left "autonomy" movement a couple of years ago.

The murder by left-wing assassins of a left-wing magistrate came five days after the Red Brigades bagged their first labor union militant in Genoa, Communist party member Guido Rossa. Rossa, with the

backing of his factory council, had denounced a Red Brigades activist in the Italsider factory to the police.

Alessandrini had dealt with some minor cases of left-wing terrorism, but this was not considered his specialty. He had recently been concentrating on an investigation of the "ministers and generals who helped secret agents infiltrate neo-fascist dynamiters" and thus were probably in on the Piazza Fontana bombing, according to exonerated anarchist Pietro Valpreda's lawyer, Marco Ianni.

Ianni said he could not understand why Prima Linea would want to assassinate Alessandrini. "The last time I saw Alessandrini, he told me his investigation was moving ahead and that it would probably end up before Parliament, there was so much complicity in high places," the lawyer said.

"When the Red Brigades killed the Genoa Communist Union delegate," he added, "it was still possible to say it was because he was an informer, but this time..."

Chadli to succeed Boumediene

Col. Benjedid Chadli, picked this week to succeed the late President Houari Boumediene by Algeria's sole ruling party, that still calls itself the FLN (Front of National Liberation) after its heroic days, was previously known mainly for his presidential head of white hair. Rather than take over Boumediene's unlimited power, Chadli's appointed task will apparently be to mediate between the "liberals" around Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika and the "progressives" around party leader Mohamed Salah Yahiaoui.

To cure the ills of Algerian society, Bouteflika would prescribe less "socialism" and Yahiaoui more. A moralist who finds approval among partisans of a return to Moslem orthodoxy, Yahiaoui gave the most rousing speech of the FLN congress, stressing that "it takes real socialists to build socialism."

But who are they? Of the 3,000 delegates at the congress, one-fifth were directly elected, one-fifth were sent by mass organizations (workers, youth, women) and one-fifth were army officers. The rest came from various branches of the administration, where Bouteflika finds most of his supporters among government officials and executives of nationalized firms.

Observers said the debate at the congress was the liveliest the FLN had known in years. In particular, delegates of the "progressive" tendency argued for making the presidential term, now six years, and the economic plan, up to now four years long, both cover the same five-year period, so that the party congress could seriously debate and decide the country's main policy choices every five years.

Col. Chadli was to be elected in a special uncontested election on Feb. 7. ■

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STRIKING GERMANS

Steel workers fail to win 35-hour week

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

WEST GERMANY'S STEEL workers set out this winter on a crusade for the 35-hour work week and fell flat on their faces at the end of a six-week strike that was the second longest in post-war Germany.

Most of the 120,000 strikers felt they had been betrayed by union leaders, who herded them back into the steel plants on Jan. 11, claiming that the settlement providing for six weeks of paid holidays and a 4 percent pay increase by next year was a partial victory.

But a chorus of complaints rose from the rank and file, who had shut down the German steel industry for the first time in half a century for no less than the 35-hour week. They lost the strike, and they knew it.

Growing unemployment is what has aroused the West German workers from their celebrated docility. After years of having to import foreign labor, West Germany now has one million unemployed. Alarmed about job security, workers want to do something to fight unemployment—and fast, before it saps union strength and worker combativity.

Many workers feel that the 35-hour week is the best concrete demand they can make to counter unemployment, on the theory that reducing each worker's share of work will force employers to create more jobs.

Last May 25, delegates to the 11th congress of the 7.5 million member DGB, the German trade union confederation, surprised union officials by endorsing the 35-hour week, as well as nationalization of key industries, banks and insurance companies.

SPD on the spot.

This unexpected clamor from its trade union base has put the Social Democratic Party (SPD) leadership in a ticklish position in its role as keeper of a social truce that has enabled German exporters to promise customers that their deliveries will never be delayed by strikes.

Metal workers union (IGM) president, Eugen Loderer, and other union officials followed the base in coming out for the 35-hour week, apparently failing to see the trouble they were getting into. Perhaps they felt it was safe to pay lip-service to the 35 hours, confident that such a radical idea could never muster the 75 percent vote required to call a strike in West Germany. When a whopping 87 percent voted to strike, the leaders were on the spot.

The spot got hotter when the German steel barons decided to respond with a crusade of their own, announcing their determination to hold the line of the 40-hour week at all costs. IGM leaders backed down, but they had such a hard time getting the steel workers to accept a surrender clumsily disguised as a compromise that the right-wing German press was clucking over the union bosses' "loss of control" over their membership.

West German industrialists have long been allowed the luxury of feeling that strikes, in their country at least, are something abnormal. So long as their profits were expanding, they were willing to make the minimal concessions that enabled the SPD-led unions to keep the workers on the job. But the recession makes industrialists less willing to make concessions to keep production rolling. The mood in labor relations is turning meaner.

The big steel strike came at the end of a year of disputes in print shops, on the docks, in the Berlin construction trades and the metallurgy industry of Baden Wurttemberg that totaled up a post-war record of 5.8 million work days lost—3.2 million through strikes and 2.6 million through lockouts.



West German steel workers with signs demanding a 35-hour week.

After years of importing foreign labor West Germany now has a million unemployed. Alarmed workers want to do something about it—and quickly.

Lockouts are a special problem for the German unions, which, in contrast to the more politicized southern European unions, have a financial power based on relatively high dues—an average of over \$10 per month per member—which is both a strength and a vulnerability. The DGB-controlled banks, industrial concerns and businesses give the SPD a financial base that helps it make its influence felt internationally.

Some of this fortune is earmarked for strike funds, which theoretically should make Germans more bold about going on strike than, say, their French neighbors, who frequently have to pass the hat among sympathizers to get through a strike without starving.

In practice, fear of exhausting the strike fund seems to inhibit strikes more than the fund's existence encourages them. To save on strike funds, the unions tend to call a strike only among certain relatively lower-salaried sectors of the industry they want to hit.

The bosses have caught on, and in recent months have retaliated by locking out additional masses of employees to devour the union treasury. The most recent strikes in Baden Wurttemberg cost the union about 48 million marks, while retaliatory lockouts cost 80 million.

The unions face an uphill battle in persuading "public opinion," meaning mainly the middle classes who base their opinions of industrial strife on what they read in the newspapers, that lockouts are unfair.

In the Bundesrepublik, not only the press but even the very language expresses conservative capitalist ideology. What in English, French and Italian are "bosses" and "workers," in German become "work-givers" and "work-takers" (*Arbeitgeber, Arbeitnehmer*). And it isn't,

as might be assumed elsewhere, the workers who give their work to the bosses, who take it for their own purposes. No, it's the generous employers who "give" work and the greedy workers who "take" it and then ask for more besides.

Press dismisses demand.

The German press for the most part dismissed the 35-hour demand as economic idiocy, while praising alternative gimmicks to deal with unemployment such as the American practice of job-sharing.

But the striking German steel workers in the Hoesch plant in Dortmund were cheered on by a delegation of 60 Dutch employees of a Hoesch plant in their country who came and promised not to do overtime or in any way allow Hoesch to use the Dutch plant to meet the German firm's orders. Such international solidarity is rare.

SPD chancellor Helmut Schmidt reportedly blamed IGM leaders' "lack of authority" for failing to end the strike. To do so, he called in the SPD labor minister of North Rhine Westphalia, Friedrich Farthmann, to arbitrate. By making it clear that they could not, or would not, ever succeed in persuading management to accept the 35-hour week, union negotiators finally broke down the strikers' determination.

Even with the strike fund, the strikers felt the pinch of lower income. After initial refusals, they voted by 49.5 percent to accept the contract negotiated by IGM leaders. This was more than enough, since it takes only 25 percent of union membership approval of a contract to end a strike under West German labor law.

But some union militants complained that the strike had been abandoned before it could be effective, before it had begun to slow deliveries to automobile

plants and other steel-working industries. The bitterest pill was that the new contract buried the question of the 35-hour week for the next five years.

The outcome of the steel strike has encouraged management to try to drive IGM leaders to the wall in forthcoming contract negotiations in the auto industry by demanding an explicit commitment to respect the 40-hour week as a condition for any concessions on holidays. But chemical and printing workers seem ready to take up the battle for a shorter work-week despite the setback.

Industrialists in opposition.

Some industrialists would like to lead a counterattack against the co-management setup that gives unions equal representation in the supervisory bodies of major industries. Co-management has in practice done less to democratize the factories than to make union officials sensitive to the economic welfare of enterprises, thus enforcing their reluctance to strike or even to think boldly in terms of radically different social structures. But this does not prevent owners from disliking co-management because it deprives them of a free hand. This may be precisely what the British had in mind when they imposed co-management on the Ruhr coal and steel industries during their post-war occupation, perhaps less to promote "workers' control" than to keep an eye on German industrialists, who after two wars had a sinister reputation.

The feeling they are heading for the crunch leads some union militants to demand an immediate last-ditch fight for the 35 hours, "before we have two or three million unemployed and lack the strength to fight." In contrast to this sense of urgency, Helmut Schmidt calls the 35 hours a "fully legitimate" demand even though economically impossible for many years to come.

The SPD can perhaps best handle the 35-hour demand by "pushing it upstairs," that is, by promoting it as a major feature of the SPD platform for the European parliamentary elections next June.

The SPD means to go to the European Parliament as the leading trade union party. Near the top of its list of candidates, right after Willy Brandt, will be DGB president Heinz Oscar Vetter and IGM president Eugen Loderer. ■

SUPPOSE THEY SENT A BILL AND NOBODY PAID?

BY MARK SUFRIN

Once upon a time in the U.S., debt was something you were supposed to honor, and bankruptcy was a mark of personal failure and disgrace. "Today," says one lawyer, "things have improved. Personal bankruptcy is something like contracting a venereal disease—socially acceptable but nothing to brag about."

But some of the stigma remains.

"There's nothing worse than what bankruptcy does to your pride," says Henry Roberts of Dallas. "It's not the fact that you can't buy nice things. It's that you're going against the whole moral teachings of the last 200 years."

"It means admitting in public," says Paul Walker of Los Angeles, "that I couldn't handle myself financially—something my All-American upbringing had taught me to have pride in. It also meant abandoning 20 years of a perfect credit record. The choice was agonizing. But in the end, I chose to go bankrupt—and it was the wisest thing I ever did. At first I was in a state of shock. Then I started to live again, with a free slate. For the first time in years I wasn't afraid, and that feeling overcame my guilt."

More and more, debt-ridden Americans are using this legal escape to rip off their creditors. The message is becoming increasingly clear to the public:

Anybody—anyone at all who does not wish to pay his debts—any individual who yearns to start a spanking-clean economic life without owing a dime has only to walk into the nearest federal court and declare himself a personal bankrupt. He doesn't even need a lawyer (though it's advised); just the proper legal forms filled out plus a \$50 filing fee (payable in installments) wash all creditors out of his hair and all garnishes from his paycheck. And no one can stop him.

The message, of course, shakes the business-credit establishment. The American consumer public is into credit people for over one *trillion* dollars (that's a thousand billion dollars) on home mortgages, charge accounts, personal loans, installment credit, etc. And 10 percent of that stupendous sum owed is in nonrecoverable consumer goods and cash loans. In short, the credit people have 100 billion bucks working the street and not a leg-breaker on the payroll. Who wouldn't get nervous?

"Bankruptcy is as American as apple pie," says one consumer advocate. "Hell, big business, movie stars, rock musicians, society people, everybody does it all the time, everybody but the poor slob who really needs it."

"Business, banks, and credit card and loan companies try to keep the whole idea of bankruptcy a secret. They put out the



Illustration by
Tom Greensfelder

propaganda that personal bankruptcy is something to be ashamed of. But they wouldn't hesitate 15 seconds to go bankrupt if it meant making a profit. They grab credit too freely, and they just about say that bankruptcy is good for everyone but the consumer. Besides, bad debt losses are tax deductible. The trouble is, information about personal bankruptcy for the average man has been a well-kept secret for too long."

It might be said that behind this silence is the fear that mass use of bankruptcy could wreck the economy of our country. *Fortune* magazine recently lamented:

"The fact that bankruptcy is getting to have a good name may be bizarre, but it's very much in tune with the times. In an age that holds society responsible for the misfortune of individuals, the personal bankrupt is no longer a failure, but an innocent victim whom the rest of us have an obligation to help. ...Some people do go broke through no fault of their own, and they deserve help. But if Americans blithely assume that every case of bankruptcy is like that, the nation will find itself—well, bankrupt."

"That's a lot of baloney," says a Chicago lawyer who pleaded to remain anonymous. "People have been brainwashed that it's wrong not to pay their debts no matter what. I want everybody to know that you don't have to. And the U.S. Supreme Court in 1973 backed that up."

"The Bankruptcy Act," said the court, "relieves the honest debtor from the weight of oppressive and often unfair indebtedness and permits him to start afresh, free from obligations and responsibilities. It gives the debtor a new chance in life and a clear field for the future, unhampered by the pressure and discouragement of pre-existing debt."

"Who are the personal bankrupts?" says Harold Laven, a federal bankruptcy judge in Massachusetts. "In my court I've had secretaries making \$8000 to people earning \$35,000 or more. They're people who are charge-accounted and loaned and mortgaged to their full earnings and somewhat over. And almost every personal bankruptcy usually has something that touches it off. Something has happened in the bankrupt's life—divorce, death, an accident, extensive hospitalization, loss of a job—you name it."

"The truth is that too often it's people who are innocent victims," says federal bankruptcy judge Emil Goldhaber of Philadelphia. "I'm amazed at how many people wind up in bankruptcy court with no assets and with \$10,000 to \$15,000 in debt to lending institutions. I sometimes feel that people who come before my court have had credit jammed down their throat—and I don't blame them for going bankrupt."

"I can't punish myself," says bankrupt Jeff Neirich of Indianapolis, "for debts to Master Charge and organizations like that, which are always running ads saying something like, 'Charge your way across the country.' That makes it possible for anyone in this country to live beyond their means. Basically, I did wrong. But the credit companies made it all too easy. They make you feel you can have anything you want."

"When you lose your job," says another personal bankrupt, "have a crisis in the family, or just can't keep up, when

you owe X thousands of dollars and in the time it takes to mumble some legal mumbo jumbo your debt is suddenly gone, that's a mighty positive thing. It eliminates that despair, that sense you'll never get out from under. The feeling of relief is incredible."

The demand for information on bankruptcy is swelling with the rise in unemployment and the rate of inflation. Federal bankruptcy courts are jammed with their biggest caseloads in history. In the six months ended July 1978, more than 175,000 people filed for personal bankruptcy—an increase of 70,000 over the same period in the previous year. Most officials expect the situation to get much worse.

The credit establishment says that this costs them more than \$2 billion a year. But with the \$100 billion "working the street," the gross profit is still \$18 billion, which makes the loss of \$2 billion a tolerable business expense. Also: The rate of consumer borrowing is rising much faster than the rate of bankruptcies. And there are businessmen who, if given the choice between a key to the back door of Fort Knox and the charter to open a loan company, would take the loan charter every time.

If you're in debt over your head, bankruptcy is often the best—sometimes the only—way of getting a new start. Of course, after you do so, you will have to pay cash for everything for a while. Not too long though.

There are several reasons why bankruptcy won't hurt your credit rating in the long run. One is that you can only go bankrupt every seventh year. That figure seems to have originated in the Bible:

"If thou buy a Hebrew servant, six years shall he serve and in the seventh he shall go free." (Exodus 21:2)

"At the end of every seven years thou shalt make a release...every creditor that lendeth ought unto his neighbor shall release it, he shall not exact it of his neighbor, or of his brother, for it is the Lord's release." (Deuteronomy 15:2)

So once you file for bankruptcy, your creditors know that you can't escape via that route for another six years. They also know that bankruptcy probably wiped out most of your debts. Some companies have been known to solicit business from recent bankrupts. "I wasn't going to get caught by those vultures again," says one man. "I had to shut myself up in a room with no phones. I had to fight myself to beat off their temptations."

All debts are not wiped out by bankruptcy, however. The main classes of debts that you will still be responsible for even after going bankrupt are:

- State and federal taxes (due within the last three years)
- Fines and penalties arising out of criminal violations and traffic offenses
- Child support
- Alimony
- Debts arising from willful or malicious acts
- Debts incurred by fraud or false pretenses
- Secured debts—home mortgages or payments due on your car

The bankruptcy court can also use all your assets to pay debts, except for the property exempted under each state's laws, and these can vary tremendously.

Generally, most states will allow you to keep clothing, some cash, the tools of your trade, even basic transportation (like a ten-year-old car).

Any money you get after going bankrupt is exempt. If your Aunt Matilda heard you were in a bad way and laid \$100,000 on you the day after you filed, your creditors can't touch it. In addition, the federal government exempts Social Security payments, veterans benefits, and railroad and federal pensions, among others.

A lawyer's fee for a simple bankruptcy may run as high as \$350 or more. Too many lawyers recommend bankruptcy because it's the simplest and most lucrative way for them to handle their client's immediate problems, say Jan Slavicek, co-author with Robert Burger of *The Simplest Guide to Personal Bankruptcy*. But many experts feel the lawyers fee is well worth it. A good lawyer provides you with psychological as well as legal security.

A simple bankruptcy involving only a few debts and no complications, however, can be done on your own. In addition to the Slavicek-Burger book, another good one is *Wipe Out Your Debts and Make a Fresh Start*, by Jerome Meyers, who says, "A person continually paying out more than 20 percent of his income for past debts is fighting a losing battle and only prolongs the misery and inevitable financial disaster." Some consumer groups offer do-it-yourself bankruptcy kits for prices ranging from \$10 to \$50, depending on your financial state.

The aftermath can be an explosion of joy and relief. "It made me feel reborn," says a Chicago woman. "It removed feelings of guilt and anxiety that had crippled me for years."

Before filing for bankruptcy, it's perfectly legal to convert non-exempt assets into exempt assets. For example, you can take cash out of the bank and buy an insurance policy that names a child, wife, or dependent relative as the beneficiary.

Steven Prindle of Miami Beach, who goes into bankruptcy as often as the law allows, says, "People have to be shown that *money has no shame!* You can even make money by going bankrupt. Just before I file, I replace my two old cars with new ones. Now the old cars will be worth something to the creditors, no matter how beat up, because they're paid for. The new cars, however, they won't touch. They'd have to make the payments, and as soon as I drive the car, it's second-hand and drops \$500 in value, at least, so they'd be losing money on the deal. Of course, I don't list the chattel mortgages on the cars on the bankruptcy form. I make an exception and keep up those payments. Nobody can touch my new cars."

"Then," he continues, "I do friends a favor. I list them as creditors, that I owe them maybe \$5000 or \$10,000. That way they have a nice legal income tax deduction, and they owe me a favor. Usually they're people who can help me get my credit back. You have to wait a while, maybe a few months, maybe a year, but it's not too hard. Houses are easy to save if you plan it right. Also, you know that going into bankruptcy doesn't wash out taxes. Owe them as long as you can because then the feds put a lien on everything and that stops your creditors from throwing you into involuntary bankruptcy

Join them.

—hitting you before you hit them."

Asked if many of his stratagems aren't illegal and lawyers would refuse to use such tactics, Prindle says: "What the hell do you think they get paid for? To fill out forms? They have classes on sex in school now; maybe soon they'll have the guts to teach the kids about *money!*"

There is something less traumatic than bankruptcy. It is called Chapter 13 (a heading in the federal bankruptcy law), or the Wage-Earner Plan. Under the plan, a debtor pays his creditors over a period of three years—provided the majority of creditors agree—under court supervision. If the debtor gets behind in his payments, he can still file for outright bankruptcy.

Chapter 13 has some big plusses: you keep your property, your creditors are paid, and your pride and credit reputation take less of a beating. The filing fee is \$15.

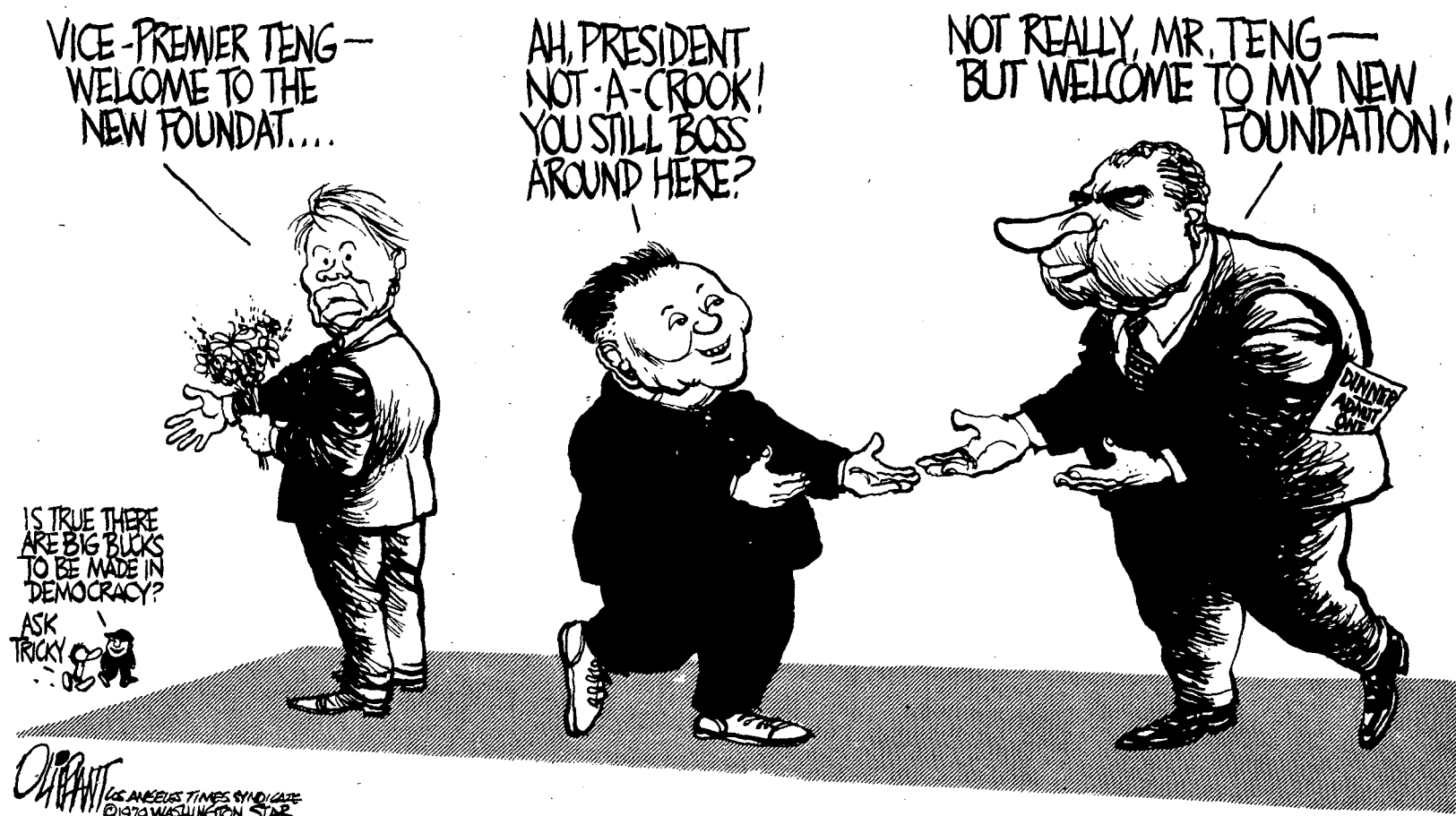
It also has some drawbacks. The debtor "is subject to the complete control of the court regarding the disposition of his income," notes author Jerome Meyers.

"The lawyers and courts try to talk people into Chapter 13," says Anyce Hutchinson, a consumer adviser in Fresno, Calif. "So you get payments strung out for years. They do everything to protect the creditors because the creditors are the big-business people who give the lawyers all their work. What can a poor bankrupt give them after he goes bankrupt?"

There are many, of course, who withstand the pressure and salivating creditors and work their way back from the brink of bankruptcy.

"If you can do it, fine," says Arnold Howell, a bankrupt. "Your Boy Scout credentials will be unsullied and probably look even brighter than before. But for those of us who couldn't or wouldn't hack it, it's the only way. Credit makes us like sheep, and it's difficult for a person to get over the feeling that he's getting something for nothing. Creditors know it—and thrive on it. Once in a while—for kicks—I fill out one of those credit card applications you see everywhere and drop it in a mailbox. It would be hilarious if someone actually sent me one. I wouldn't know what to do with it. Or would I?"

EDITORIAL



China's development takes road to the West

Deng Xiaoping's visit to the U.S. registers the emergence of a new era in world politics. The capitalist vs. communist conflict that dominated world politics for nearly three decades after World War II has given way, since the U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam, to an emerging and still undefined configuration of international alignments and conflicts. But one thing is clear: partisanship to socialism or capitalism no longer serves as a guide to international alignments.

In this context, the normalization of relations between the U.S. and the Peoples Republic of China raises new questions for socialists about foreign affairs. And it has raised with renewed urgency among American socialists questions concerning the very nature of China's social system.

American socialists who do not consider the Soviet Union's pursuit of détente and western trade as sufficient grounds for determining its socialist or non-socialist character should not apply a double-standard to China.

There is a noticeable irony in the idea, held by many socialist and leftist Americans, that China's current renunciation of "revolutionary self-reliance" is the equivalent of "counter-revolution." Classical Marxist thought, including that associated with Lenin, held that socialist revolutionary change must be "international," especially in the case of pre-industrial countries like Russia and China. National self-reliance was a matter of necessity, not of choice.

In seeking modernization, China, it is accurately said, has embarked upon an uncharted sea involving the breakup of the simple agrarian ways of the past. But this in itself is not a departure from the Marxist or socialist tradition. Revolutionary change lies at the heart of the socialist outlook.

In its 20th century secular forms, socialist revolution meant (among other things) commitment to modernization, industrialization and the just control and distribution of their fruits. "Maoism" came to mean—whether accurately or not—pitting equalitarianism against development. The post-Mao Chinese leadership can hardly be charged with "counter-revolution" for reverting to the original conception.

By and large, Marxian socialists have regarded leaders of agrarian nations who opposed modernization as reaction-

ary—committed to keeping their nation backward and vulnerable to imperial exploitation.

In short, the difference among socialists over the questions of development and equalitarianism is not one of revolution vs. counter-revolution, but of differences among socialists over paths to socialism. These differences permeate the history of socialist politics in and out of power.

Nor, rhetoric aside, is the issue equalitarianism vs. elitism, pure and simple. Remaining largely non-industrialized does not eliminate a society's inequalities.

The real conflict centers on the contradiction between underdevelopment and equalitarianism, as well as between development and equalitarianism—a contradiction that socialist societies no less than others must face and deal with, but that socialist societies are better equipped to resolve by virtue of their commitment to so-

cial ownership and democratic control of production and exchange.

The commitment of the present Chinese leadership to modernization is no grounds for branding them as "counter-revolutionary." Nor is the existence or persistence of inequalities in income or status associated with industrialization. Whether they are desirable is another matter. But the Chinese leadership, in opting for massive infusions of western technology, may very well be seeking to ameliorate inequalities associated with the process of development by heightened productivity.

Whether China ultimately takes the capitalist road hinges on other factors, especially the extent to which private capital is permitted to entrench itself in the Chinese production, distribution, and financial systems.

American socialists may take a keen interest in Chinese developments without falling into the old "missionary" chau-

vinism of presuming to dictate American-bred values (conventional, radical, or utopian) to the Chinese, or preaching to China the glories of agrarianism while ourselves enjoying the benefits of industrialism.

We may also critically judge China's policies in world affairs. China's current campaign to surround the Soviet Union with a hostile alignment consisting of China, the U.S., Japan and western Europe is dangerous to world peace and a disservice to other developing countries that need to draw upon resources that will go to waste in the stepped-up arms race implied in such an alignment.

Friends of China, including American socialists, would do better to stand firmly for international cooperation and disarmament, and more particularly, for a Sino-Soviet rapprochement similar to that now in progress between China and the U.S.

Sweet wafers and grapes of wrath

Pope John Paul II's utterances during his Latin America tour dealt time and again with the issues of social justice. They indicate the Pontiff's recognition that ultimately the survival of the Church will turn less on such volatile issues as abortion, birth-control, and priestly celibacy as on those of class conflict characteristic of modern politics and now intruding upon Church life—from theology to diplomacy—as never before.

What the Pope has been saying on the class question is less important than that he has found it necessary repeatedly to say something about it. But what he has been saying is important.

In the growing polarization within the Church between pro-capitalist and pro-socialist (and anti-imperialist) forces, the Pope is keeping his options open. He does not say that Jesus was not a revolutionary, only that this view does not accord with Church doctrine, which is true enough. He does not, as did past Popes, denounce socialism and praise capitalism, but says instead, "Neither capitalism nor communism will bring peace to the world but only the preaching of justice and human rights."

He says that the Church must not be

involved in politics, must not align itself with specific political movements and secular ideologies, its mission being "religious and not social and political." But that may have more practical impact on the Church's role in Italian and eastern European politics than on the actual activities of leftist parish priests and bishops in Latin America.

For, at the same time, the Pope takes evangelism to include education toward "a more just and equitable distribution of goods," toward a society in which "no longer will there be systems that permit the exploitation of man by man or by the state."

In this vein, the Pope pledges the Church to "put her life on the line" against suffering and hunger, affirming the need for "early and profound action"; "daring and profoundly innovative transformations must take place...without further delay." In Oaxaca, he warned against hatred and violence, a familiar Christian principle, but declared, "It is not just, it is not human, it is not Christian to maintain clearly unjust situations."

The Pope's statements are not an endorsement of the "theology of liberation," but neither are they a repudiation. Indeed,

they vindicate—wittingly or not—many of the central ideas of the theological left in the Church.

Though the Pope permitted invitations to the Episcopal Conference at Puebla, Mexico, to be stacked in favor of the conservative forces, and though the Conference's document may be more conservative than the Medellin document ten years ago, it is doubtful that he will move against the social involvement of the left-wing parish priests and bishops in Latin America (or elsewhere). To do so would risk schism and a drastic weakening of the Church in Latin America where over 40 percent of the world's 700 million Catholics live.

The Pope is issuing warnings to the left, not papal bulls or excommunications. The Church's survival is, in the end, more important to this Pope than capitalism's. And he seems to know that the Church can more easily survive the defection of the right than the left. He is straddling the class conflict, but slightly to the left, and in terms of modern Church history, dramatically to the left. To the Church's right wing he is throwing sweet wafers on such issues as abortion, but grapes of wrath on issues of class conflict.

LETTERS

WILL NOT RUN

THE SUGGESTION BY JAMES H. DURKIN (*ITT*, Jan. 24) that I be a candidate for U.S. President is quite flattering, but for the record I must offer a General Sherman statement. The only presidency I'm a candidate for is the UAW presidency when my current term expires in 1980.

There are few things that Henry Kissinger and I have in common, but being ineligible to hold our nation's highest office is one. Even if I possessed the desire to run, my birthplace being Glasgow, Scotland, would make me ineligible.

Douglas A. Fraser
President, UAW
Detroit, Mich.

MEXICAN OIL

I STRONGLY DISAGREE WITH LARRY REMER's view of the Mexican oil scene (*ITT*, Dec. 27, 1978), but understand that it is virtually impossible to report on it from San Diego. The evidence in Mexico points to the fact that Mexico is acting out of weakness with its oil, not strength. Lopez Portillo has overthrown protective PEMEX policies in order to produce enough oil in a big hurry to save Mexico from the critical debt crisis it faced in 1976.

Back then, Mexico's international, U.S.-dominated creditors made it clear that oil was the only way to go. Remer's report of the gas-pipeline deal is just plain wrong. Mexico had been burning off gas long before Schlesinger said no. The country needed badly to sell the gas, and was forced, once again, to turn to the U.S. as a single buyer; it was deeply embarrassed by that no. The work on the gas pipeline could not be halted (in part because Mexico had already incurred \$1 billion in debts for its construction), and PEMEX resorted to thin excuses about conveying Mexican industry to gas, though it's doubtful that Mexico can absorb such a giant supply. It was a powerplay, and Mexico lost, and will lose again until its asking price comes

down, if Schlesinger has his way.

The Mexican left is still chewing over its positions on the oil matter. Regardless, it seems clear that Mexico cannot be benefitted by draining away in such haste a non-renewable resource that could be used for many decades to build refined-petroleum industries and grease the wheels of autonomous national development.

-Julia Preston
Chapel Hill, N.C.

SOVIET ANTI-SEMITISM

IN HER RECENT LETTER TO THE EDITOR (*ITT*, Jan. 10), Peggy Dennis says that a number of additional titles of Soviet anti-Semitic writings were eliminated from her article on the subject (*ITT*, Dec. 20, 1978). But a careful examination of content that includes full quotations, in context, is really needed, not a list of titles. The debate on Soviet anti-Semitism is sufficiently clouded by the debate over Zionism that a catalog of titles and paraphrases, as given in Dennis' article and letter, only arouses suspicions that the writings may be under attack because they are actually anti-Zionist. It does not put those suspicions to rest.

I was able to check only one of the articles cited by Dennis (A copy is enclosed so that the editors may satisfy themselves that I'm stating the case fully and fairly.) It cannot support her argument.

About the article, "Nazism, Zionism, Maoism: nationality policy" by Fyodor Breus (*Daily World*, Sept. 16, 1978), Dennis wrote: "The term *Judaism* is used throughout more than the term *Zionist*. Judaism and Maoism are declared to be synonymous with Nazism and all three have 'identical values.'" That simply isn't true.

The article contains only two sentences pertaining to Jews, Judaism and Zionism. Here they are, in full:

"On the strength of the same principle [as the Nazis used], the Tel Aviv Zionist leaders demand that the Jews living in different countries with different so-

cial systems should promote Israeli government policies."

"Zionism, which sets all Judaic and Israeli values in opposition to those of humanity at large, has bred the tragedy of the Palestinians, has made other Arab nations suffer and has resulted in discrimination against dark-skinned Jews in Israel itself."

Neither of these statements can be considered anti-Semitic, though they clearly are anti-Zionist. If the rest of Dennis' evidence is this flimsy, Soviet anti-Semitism remains to be demonstrated.

-Ken Lawrence
Jackson, Miss.

TUNNEL VISION

A MICHEL POLIZZI'S LETTER (*ITT*, Jan. 24) is typical of the blind dogmatism concerning the issue of Israel and Zionism currently pervasive on the left. In his ardor to present a "materialist," progressive analysis of the situation, he swallows the tunnel-vision propaganda so popular today.

If one is really concerned with national liberation, Zionism is a good place to start. Forcibly expelled from their homeland, the Jews remained in exile for centuries, but always maintained some connection with Palestine. The Jews were never Europeans, constantly barred from the mainstream of social, political and economic life. Finally, a national liberation movement forms, and the Jews are able to end their exile.

Polizzi refers to the "class nature" of Zionism. He conveniently forgets that labor-oriented and socialist pioneers built the state of Israel. The kibbutz, despite its flaws, is still an example of this historical movement.

In his desperate attempt to heroify the Arab world, Polizzi ignores the support of Iraq, the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem and Syria for the Nazis during World War II. Perhaps the funding of the PLO by the oil sheikdom of Saudi Arabia is also irrelevant to Polizzi's world outlook.

The Palestinians do have a right to a homeland. Both Jews and Palestinian Arabs have national rights and are victims of persecution and manipulation. Additionally, the policies of the Israeli government have often been flawed and discriminatory. But this does not delegitimize Zionism as a national liberation movement.

Polizzi's dogmatism is typified by his claim that the PLO fights a war against Zionism, not the Jews. This should certainly be a great relief to the traumatized parents and relatives of murdered children and other innocents.

-Reuven Belfort
Member, Hashomer Hatzair
Socialist-Zionist Youth Movement
New York

DISRUPTING SOCIETY

I APPRECIATE *ITT*'S COVERAGE OF THE continuing suppression of free speech at Boston University, particularly the firing of Steve Slade, executive producer at the radio station WBUR. It's a shame, though, that you didn't have space to include details of Slade's firing. One of the censored tapes was a speech given at the university by William Kunstler. In some remarks urging his listeners to consult the Church Committee Report on the intelligence agencies, Kunstler said the book was probably in the library. "With all that Mr. Silber has done to expunge free speech on this campus (applause) he probably hasn't...I don't think he's closed the library yet, but maybe I'm mistaken (laughter)...maybe he'll just take away university funding."

So far the B.U. administration hasn't found that necessary. But judging from its dismissal of Slade, who refused to edit out that remark, we might expect the administration to fire any unruly librarians.

Clearly, too, "ruly" custodians can be found. The person who fired Slade has been rewarded with the title of "acting" general manager, and the newly appointed B.U. overseer of the station, an "acting" dean of the School of Public Communications, gave a speech last spring in Rhode Island arguing that free speech is not a license to disrupt society. Apparently, the current administration of Boston University regards free speech itself as a disruption of its society, and I for one wish someone would challenge its license to run a public radio station.

-Gail Fuhrer
Cambridge, Mass.

CORRECTION

Gil Schrank photographed Robert Lipsyte for the interview that appeared last week.

DIALOG

BY MIKE LAVELLE

YURI KAPRALOV, THE FIRST SECRETARY OF THE SOVIET Embassy, shows up at a Rockefeller built and endowed church in New York to confer with anti-American Americans with pro-Soviet views. He "warmly praised the convocation's goals and clearly won the sympathy of the audience with his direct style" (*ITT*, Dec. 20, 1978). The credibility of those in attendance at the two-day convocation is unquestioned as long as they restrict themselves to talking to each other and the Soviet Embassy, unquestioned, that is, within the confines of their own self-imposed isolation.

They represent yet another example of some segments of the American left who seem to have an absolute mania for self-destruction. What else did Rev. Coffin, Cora Weiss, et al. expect Kapralov to do but "warmly praise" a meeting where Coffin draws a scenario in which American computers "misread a radar screen" and the Soviet computers, as perfect as everything Soviet, "accurately" read their own radar screens. Thus evil America plunges the world into war.

Kapralov's German counterpart in the late '30s would also have "warmly praised" a pro Nazi rally in Madison Square Garden whose purpose would have been "peace" by Nazi definition.

The credibility of the American left centers very much on what they mean by "peace," by "morality," by that whole semantic grab-bag of humanistic utter-

ances. Unfortunately, the leftists who have yielded to the totalitarian temptation have taken on the totalitarian usage of language and contorted out of human shape desperate hearts and minds who sincerely wish to believe that "peace" means valued, inviolate human lives. Cynicism is the bitter legacy they leave to the rest of us.

During the Vietnam war a slogan much in use by the left was "Silence is assent." The silence of the left concerning the barbarisms of left-wing police states indicts it with the Carthaginian "peace" in Cambodia, and the poison gas used by the North Vietnamese army against the Meo Tribes in the Vietnam mountains.

You cannot expect to wade through communist gulags as though they did not exist, and to be believed on other selective outrages, fascist or whatever.

Those in attendance at the convoca-

tion on the arms race will no doubt respond by dismissing critics like me as political *naifs* or as fascistic right-wingers. They will preach to their already converted and wonder why the rest of us are not listening or believing. They will also wonder why they seem to provide fertile ground work for right-wing conversions.

David Moberg's article in the same issue of *ITT* suggests that the San Francisco left's silence and self-censorship on the doings of Jim Jones was partially responsible for the horrors of Guyana. It was a microcosm of the predilection on the left to ignore the biblical injunctions (St. Matthew, Chapter 7, Verse 5): "Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye."

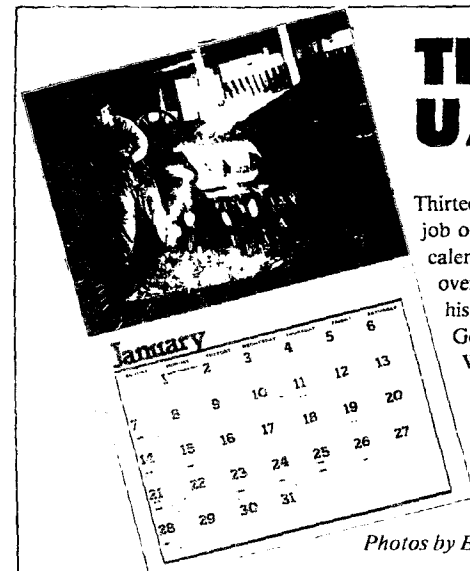
The tragedy on the domestic scene is that segments of the American left have goals in the social area shared by many non-leftists, but they still carry pro-Soviet (or pro-Chinese, etc.) and anti-American

millstones around their necks. It mutes their message and distorts their image. A truly American left that values our democratic traditions and beliefs is sorely needed.

What is not needed is the knee-jerk anti-Americans who seek the approval of Soviet colonialists instead of the approval of their fellow Americans. You do not shit on the dinner table and then announce a come-you-all banquet.

Flag waving? Sure, and so what? The American labor movement was not built on messages from Moscow, and neither will our society move toward a more equitable America led by those with a visceral hatred for the America they wish to change. You do not call your mother a base whore and then proceed to preach virtue to her.

God help us if patriotism becomes the sole property of right-wingers—by default. Mike Lavelle writes the Blue Collar Views column in the *Chicago Tribune*.



The 1979 UAW Calendar

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Photos by Earl Dotter

MANNING MARABLE

FROM THE GRASSROOTS

Corporate Political Action Committees are buying Democrats

ONE GENERATION AGO, THE Democratic Party appeared to represent the general interests of common, working people. As Franklin D. Roosevelt stated in campaign addresses, the Republican leadership was allied "with the old enemies of peace—business and financial monopoly, speculation, reckless banking, class antagonism, sectionalism, war profiteering." The Republicans "considered the government of the United States as a mere appendage" to the workings of major corporations.

The distinction between the major political parties was clear cut: Democrats represented labor, ethnic minorities, progressives, small farmers and the South; Republicans were the champions of lais-



sez faire economics and the interests of big business.

The myth of the Democratic Party as being truly representative of working people's interests has been dying a slow and ambiguous death for 40 years. Perhaps the most interesting element contributing to the demise of the Democratic Party's

"pro-labor" image has been business' open financial support for many Democratic candidates. Through the development of the corporate political action committees (PACs), businesses have repeatedly backed Democrats in House and Senate races who advocate traditionally "Republican policies."

Since 1974, the number of PACs has swollen from 89 to 776. The corporate committees have accounted for about 15 percent of all congressional campaign expenditures. By 1980, there will be about 1000 PACs. Corporate leaders have expressed continued confidence in the Republican Party; less openly, however, through the donations of the PACs, corporations roughly split their millions in financial gifts between the two parties.

"The irony here is that although the public perceives us as carrying business' water, much of big business really is supporting our enemy," complained Rep. Guy Vander Jagt, head of the House GOP campaign committee, to the *Wall Street Journal*. "Many of these business groups care much more about buying access to incumbents than any philosophical principles." Significantly, the PACs gave five times more to Democratic incumbents in the House than to their Republican challengers.

Corporations recognize that Democratic Party populist rhetoric and traditional support of labor interests, in the long run, mean absolutely nothing. Louisiana Democrat J. Bennett Johnston, chair of the Senate subcommittee on energy and appropriations, received roughly \$200,000 from PACs, although he had no Republican opponent in the general election. Democratic Rep. John Murphy of New

York, chair of the House Merchant Committee, received approximately \$70,000 from PACs. His Republican opponent, a conservative from Staten Island, received nothing. Nevada Sen. James Santini, a conservative Democrat, received \$60,000 from business PACs; his Republican challenger acquired about \$1,000.

Nevertheless, Republican incumbents in the Senate and House receive about 20 times as much financial support from corporations than their Democratic opponents.

The emergence and growth of the PACs in recent years is indicative of a larger problem—the growing correlation between wealth and electoral success. According to Federal Election Commission statistics on House general elections in 1976, winning candidates raised over \$42 million as against \$23 million for their opponents. Most Democratic candidates are just as eager to court business financial support as are Republicans.

The net result of the proliferation of PACs is ideological confusion, the abandonment of basic political principles and the de facto merger of the greater part of the Democratic Party into the Republican Party. The Democratic Party of Roosevelt advocated a genuine left-of-center social and economic program; the Democratic Party of Carter bares only the slightest resemblance to its pro-working class origins. Today, dollars rather than principles determine the destiny of the Democratic Party.

Manning Marable is professor of political sciences, University of San Francisco, and Associate Fellow, Institute of the Black World, Atlanta, Ga.

BOOKS

Babeuf: from democrat to People's Tribune

By Margaret George

GRACCHUS BABEUF: The First Revolutionary Communist

By R.B. Rose

Stanford University Press, Stanford, Calif. 1978

Prof. Rose's remarkable biography gives us a basic history lesson: If we want to understand an historical person, we must see her/him in proper historical context. So, if we want to understand Gracchus Babeuf we must see him against the whole of the French Revolution (and if we want to understand the French Revolution, we could follow the revolutionary career of Babeuf).

Generations of leftists have venerated Babeuf as a theoretical pioneer of a communist society, have read in anthologies of "modern socialist thought" snippets of his writings, complete with small-print prefaces with thumbnail biographical data. But Rose's Babeuf, so utterly different from the frozen figure of the anthologies, is a man in motion, a man literally created by the Revolution, in turn acting with profound creativity upon it, and in the end grasping, and embodying, its fundamental contradiction.

Respectful petty bourgeois democrat in 1789, advocate of the "agrarian law" in 1791, Jacobin agitator in 1793, Babeuf became "revolutionary communist" in 1796.

Francois-Noel Babeuf (the "Gracchus" was his post-1793 identity, appropriate name for the "Tribune of the People") was at the start of the Revolution a self-educated, provincial *feudiste*, scraping a meager living as a clerk for aristocratic landlords.

But Babeuf's own origins were "plebeian"—"born in the dirt," he said—and his response to the Revolution was immediately personal: for him, its highest promise was equality, the ending of aristocratic privilege, of course, but even more, the swift closing of the ageless gap between rich and poor. By the summer of 1789, as peasant revolts spread in his native Picardy, he was on their side, commissioned clerk for peasant villagers claiming their rights against both aristocratic lords and enclosing capitalist farmers.

In 1790-91, Babeuf was in a whirl of activity, arguing peasants' cases, organizing tax rebellions, publishing fiery pamphlets, addressing petitions to the National Assembly in Paris indicting what he now called the "gothic filth" of feudalism. Direct action plus theory—Babeuf was putting the two together as a leader of agrarian revolt in Northeast France.

"I distinguish two parties... One wants the republic of a million...the other wants the republic of the other 24 million."

His pamphlets offered a principled, practical and simple program: How should this newly enlightened society assure the equality that was the "natural right" of all its citizens? Clearly, by the equal distribution of land, a great sharing-out to be started with the national appropriation of huge landed estates, which in any case had been anciently won by feudal conquest, by "usurpation and fraud."

By 1792 Babeuf had had bruising confrontations with local bourgeois revolutionary authorities. Whatever their hostility to a counterrevolutionary aristocracy, they had not made the Revolution to assault the sacred rights of landed or any other kind of private property. He fled to Paris, where there was some chance of safety from Picard legal prosecution and a democratic movement full of friends and potential followers.

He found in Paris a new revolutionary movement, a new revolutionary reality that permanently altered his program for the construction of social equality. From the middle of the summer, Paris was pounded by the revolutionary fervor of the *sans-culottes*, the Democracy of city artisans, journeymen, wage-earners, day-laborers. Their power base in neighborhood clubs, the "People" had seized control of the Revolution, to save it from its enemies abroad—French emigre aristocrats prancing back with the armies of the Austrian and Prussian monarchs, and its enemies at home—the King, in secret contact with the Austrian invaders, the remaining aristocrats, the bulk of the Catholic clergy, and almost the whole of the big bourgeoisie.

Indeed, *sans-culotte* fury focused most

specifically on the merchants, bankers, speculators, "hoarders and monopolizers," whose economic "liberty" resulted in scarcities of essential goods and ruinously rising prices. From the incredible, brilliant (and brief) experience of the Democracy in power, Babeuf learned the politics of mass revolutionary dictatorship. From it too he decided that the key

to the "common happiness" was, not equal access to land, but popular control of the distribution of social wealth.

From 1794 to his end Babeuf was either in prison or in hiding from imprisonment. But he wrote and published steadily. It was his most creative period—these months during which the Revolution lurched convulsively from the Jacobin/*sans-culotte* dictatorship to the political triumph (though a beleaguered one) of the big bourgeoisie.

Babeuf watched the betrayal of the *sans-culotte* Democracy—the arrest of its militants and the closing of its clubs, the forbidding of popular political activity—by its Jacobin, radical but still bourgeois, allies. With the war going well and the economy relatively stabilized, Robespierre and other Jacobin leaders could dispense with the irritant of direct democracy.

To the Tribune of the People this was naked tyranny, the violation of the essential core of the Revolution. He watched the overthrow of Robespierre and the Jacobin government, and the substitution of a different sort of dictatorship—that of the big bourgeoisie. As the rich inherited the Revolution, and proceeded to dismantle the price controls and economic restrictions of the Jacobin/Democracy period, Babeuf understood the real nature of this furious phase of the seminal class warfare which was the French Revolution.

His insight is too important to paraphrase. "I distinguish two parties...both desire the republic, but each wants a republic after its own fashion.... One wants the republic of a million which was always the enemy, the dominator, the ex-

actor, the oppressor, the bloodsucker of the 24 other millions.... the other party wants the republic of those other 24 millions....who are defining it and dying for its safety and its glory."

The final Babeuf is the proto-communist extrapolated and fixed in our socialist anthologies. He continued, still in hiding, to try to revitalize a "plebeian party" out of the demoralized, police-harassed *sans-culotte* Democracy. Its goal was an *egalite parfaite*, a society without private property, in which everyone worked and shared equally the products of the collective labor.

Confused, beaten, tormented by economic hardship, the Democracy did not respond. So Babeuf and committed colleagues, in the "Conspiracy for Equality," organized for an interim seizure of political power in its name, a temporary dictatorship to hold against the "million" and construct the institution proper to a democratic and egalitarian society.

Infiltrated by police agents, informed upon by one member, the Conspiracy was smashed by the bourgeois government. Brought to a show-place jury trial the conspirators were convicted, though on one count only—that of advocating the Constitution of 1793, conveniently made a capital offense by the new government. "Extenuating circumstances" saved most of them (for prison), but Babeuf and one other were sentenced to death and executed by guillotine the following day, May 27, 1797.

It is hard to imagine a better biography than Rose's. It makes simply irrelevant all the old attempts to fit Babeuf into 19th and 20th century working class struggles—including that of Marx, who knew Jacques Roux and the "Enrages" of the 1793 Democracy yet could not resist pushing Babeuf into the future as the "first authentic voice of the proletariat."

Babeuf's genius was directly the product of the first self-conscious modern revolution (not, unqualified, the first—the English was that), in which the structure of the new nation was apparently up for grabs. He tried to shape it for democracy, for equality and social justice. Let us henceforth put that into the anthologies.

Margaret George is professor of history at Northern Illinois University, DeKalb.

PERSPECTIVES

Is class struggle emerging in Iran?

BY LEONARD M. HELFGOTT

THE ARRIVAL OF THE AYA-tollah Khomeini in Tehran promises to usher in a new era in Iranian politics. What has appeared during the past year as a successful moral, religious and nationalist outburst against a corrupt, brutal client of Western imperialism now threatens to expose the underlying class conflicts in Iranian society. Because the insurrection has succeeded, a revolution now becomes possible. But the struggle will be a long and tortuous one and the outcome is far from predictable.

Make no mistake about it, Iran is still in the hands of the rich and powerful. Despite the removal of the Pahlavi family and some of the leeches that surrounded the Shah, the Bakhtiari government, the leadership of the army and the National Front form a coalition of vested interests committed to continued domination of Iran by foreign capitalism and its domestic allies.

The mass movement supporting Khomeini and the mullahs is more complicated. Its opposition to the Shah and to foreign domination is deeply rooted and sincere, but its anti-capitalism is rooted in precapitalist productive relations. To understand Khomeini and most of his supporters, one must have a grasp on the dynamics of dependency and class formation in modern Iran.

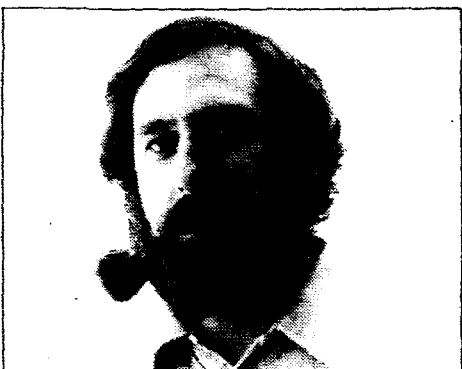
What Western economists call modernization has had a long and twisted path in developing countries and Iran is no exception. Modernization has meant the subordination of the Iranian economy to the needs of the great capitalist states, Great Britain in the 19th and the first half of the 20th centuries, the U.S. since World War II. Therefore, modernization has not resulted in the unfettered development of an indigenous capitalism and its concomitant class relations in Iran.

Rather, when the needs of foreign capital were met by modernizing a sector of the economy or of the political or social structure, these sectors were modernized—for example, the oil industry, the construction industry, the centralized bureaucracy, the secret police. On the other hand, when it has fitted the needs of the capitalist states to perpetuate and extend precapitalist sectors of the economy based on traditional labor intensive relations of production, this was also done.

This "development of underdevelopment" is apparent primarily in agriculture, the handwoven carpet industry (next to oil, Iran's largest export) and in the perpetuation of the bazaar as the center of domestic production and exchange.

Two major sectors.

In vastly oversimplified terms, capitalism created two economic sectors in Iran. The first sector is tied directly to capital through foreign investment in capital and through the increasing presence of industrial imports. This sector is represented by a small factory owning bourgeoisie, a comprador bourgeoisie (local agents for foreign capital), a financial bourgeoisie (especially since the oil boom), a service petty bourgeoisie filling the white collar and official, financial, bureaucratic and educational positions, and last but not least a small, modern wage-earning industrial proletariat.



In addition, the military officer class is included in this sector, the upper echelon connected to the industrial, comprador and financial bourgeoisie, the lower echelon to the service petty bourgeoisie. In total, this sector reflects the oil industry and its spinoffs and accounts for between one-fourth and one-third of non-oil related goods and services in Iran.

The second sector of the economy is precapitalist in origin, but its activities have been largely shaped by the needs of foreign capital. An uneven combination of resistance to the incursions of capital and the machinations of capital itself perpetuated traditional economic relations. Handicraft production, rentier agriculture and pastoral nomadic production have persisted throughout the period of so-called modernization and still form the great bulk of daily economic activity.

The bazaar.

The bazaar functions as the heart and soul of the precapitalist sector. Fully 70 percent of all domestic business transactions occur either in the bazaar or in the huge network of production and exchange centered there. Each of Iran's large cities contains one or more bazaars that function as centers of handicraft production and exchange and that fan out to the village and tribal regions integrating rural production into a national exchange network.

On the one hand, the bazaar is linked to the export sector of the economy through its function as a depot for the collection of agricultural and craft goods and their distribution to external markets. On the other hand, the bazaar serves as the center of domestic production and exchange. The bazaar is the central institution in the daily reproduction of the domestic economy and the link between that sector of the economy and the foreign exchange sector.

The bazaar also functions as the center of social, cultural and religious life. It contains guild meeting halls, bathhouses, religious schools and mosques. Social organization loosely follows trade or craft so that each corporate element in the bazaar (rug-sellers, metal workers, leather workers, etc.) is linked to others through a network of mosques, religious schools and other religious organizations. The religious network extends outside the physical structure of the bazaar to urban neighborhoods, shanty towns, agricultural villages, and the centers of Shia learning and piety in Qum and Mashhad. Indeed, events during the past year suggest that it extends to Khomeini's residence.

The precapitalist sector of the economy, centered in the bazaar, is hierarchical. On the top are the wealthy merchants linked to the export trade, and in some cases with investments in the modern sector. The wealthy merchants have one foot inside the bazaar and one foot outside of it.

In the traditional sector they form part of the leadership of the bazaars and are closely linked to the religious leadership.

In the modern sector, they face the corruption of the royal family and the bureaucracy in establishing and maintaining businesses and investments. Although the rich merchants remain deeply religious, their sons are now educated more frequently in Iranian secular universities subsequent to religious primary and secondary education. The politics of the wealthy merchants tend to be anti-monarchic, mildly anti-Western and pro-capitalist.

Merchants, artisans, workers.

The most vocal anti-Western elements in the bazaar are the small merchants and artisans. For the past hundred years, these groups have fought a defensive battle against capitalist domination.

Artisans have been threatened constantly by competition from Western imports, which have weakened the craft guilds and have forced craft production toward an export orientation. Their exports, however, have not been beneficial enough to engender a sense of well-being among the artisans, to whom foreign products remain a direct threat to their economic existence.

Likewise, the small merchants, linked to the artisans and to the village and nomadic economies and unable or unwilling to make the leap outside the bazaar, perceive the growth of the modern sector as potentially, and in many cases actually, ruinous.

The largest group connected to the bazaar is the day workers. Swollen in number by a long-term exodus from the village and nomadic areas, this group has become a poverty-ridden proletariat in constant search for work in all of the large cities. Driven from the countryside by a land reform program that distributed land to half the peasants and reduced the remainder to sharecroppers or agricultural wage laborers, and by the concerted effort of the Pahlavi monarchy to destroy the pastoral nomadic tribes, families migrated to the cities, drawn by the boom in the construction industry.

Rustic in outlook, deeply religious and living in squalor, the men work at menial jobs and the women work as domestics when possible. Their social and cultural focus is toward religion and the

bazaar rather than toward the more privileged industrial proletariat.

Religion and class.

Throughout the 20th century, opposition to capitalism has taken religious form in Iran. To the tradition-bound Muslim, Islam embodies the ethical, spiritual, organic and moral aspects of social existence. Conversely, capitalism embodies the godlessness, degeneracy and fragmentation prevalent in the West and threatening the Islamic world. Thus, the specific economic threat to various fractions of the bourgeoisie has been perceived and expressed primarily in ethical and religious terms, linking disparate and competing elements in the native economy into a unified moral condemnation of foreign influence.

The monarchy, in this view, is perceived as a tool of the West and the embodiment of its worst features. Wealthy merchant, laborer and artisan can unite with the mullahs in universal condemnation of foreign capitalism and its royal lackeys.

The most public aspect of the recent insurrection against the monarchy has been religious. The analysis thrust on the American newspaper-reading and TV-watching audience has been one of a fanatical sect led by ancient, black-robed mullahs inveighing against modernism, feminism and secularism. But the religious dimension of the insurrection masks the class nature of the opposition to the monarchy.

Insofar as religion represents the interests of the wealthy merchants, artisans and shopkeepers of the bazaar, its political program is anti-imperialist and seeks the end of the Pahlavi monarchy and the restoration of the Constitution of 1906, albeit in the form of an Islamic republic.

Khomeini and the mullahs have no economic program precisely because the interests of their constituencies are so divergent. The wealthy merchants seek to control capitalist development, the artisans and shopkeepers reject capitalist development for fear of imminent proletarianization, and the day workers seek a form of economic well-being and social equality only possible under socialism.

As the focus of the struggle moves from politics to economics, from anti-

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ACROSS

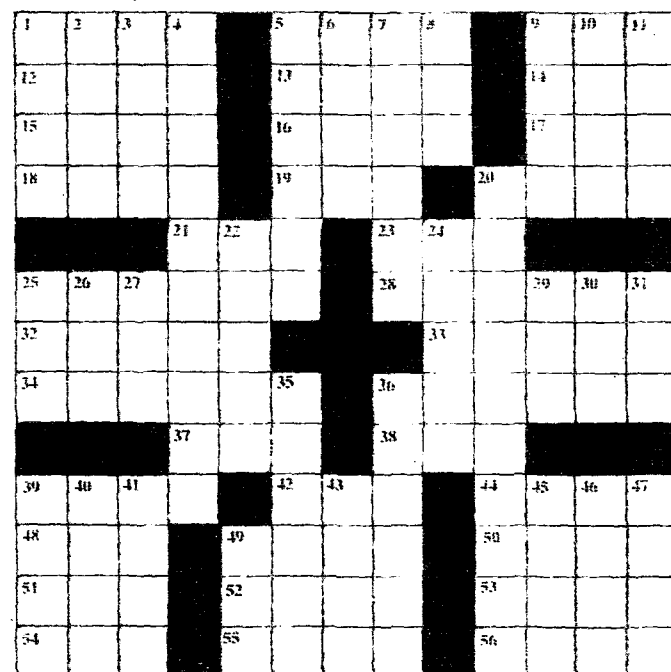
- 1 Sweetheart
- 5 Recipe direction
- 9 Part of Saigon's new name
- 12 Part of the Tien Shan mountains
- 13 Wherstone
- 14 Sought office
- 15 Mournful sound
- 16 Curved lines
- 17 "___ not what your country..."
- 18 Austrian composer, student of Schonberg
- 19 Gazelle
- 20 Exert influence
- 21 Fall behind
- 23 French pronoun
- 25 French abstract poet: Paul ___
- 28 First name of author of "A Farewell to Arms"
- 32 Type of marble
- 33 Be in accord
- 34 Invaders of England
- 36 Prepared or ready
- 37 Forty winks
- 38 Marvin or Cobb
- 39 Kiss
- 42 Move clumsily
- 44 Lose color
- 48 Former Japanese statesman
- 49 Jazz jargon
- 50 Wild goat
- 51 Sandy's beret
- 52 Bakery worker
- 53 ___ majesty
- 54 Kider Haggard heroine
- 55 Inclination
- 56 Moose

DOWN

- 1 Mary's follower
- 2 Medicinal plant
- 3 River to the Moselle
- 4 Certain playing cards
- 5 ___ dog story
- 6 Corrida animal
- 7 If it happens that
- 8 Thing, in law
- 9 Bird's crop
- 10 "The night ___ thousand..."
- 11 Quite dark
- 20 One behind the other
- 22 Sand along the Costa Brava
- 24 Papal vestment
- 25 Organic vessel
- 26 Moslem title
- 27 Not strict
- 29 Bitter vetch
- 30 Understand
- 31 Vietnamese offensive that sealed the fate of American intervention

One by One

By Jay Shepherd



- 35 Join ropes
- 36 Victoria's consort
- 39 ___ and pieces
- 40 Mountain state
- 41 "___ Enchanted Evening"
- 42 Chef's need
- 45 Biblical victim of fratricide
- 46 Music stand
- 47 Former spouses
- 48 Triangular sail

SPAS PAT CUBS
ZATO RIA OLIO
AGON ARM MUST
REPAST MAIL
THE SAD CAFE
ASSAY END TIM
ZOTS CRY PERI
AMA BOA LOSER
MERRY WIVES
LEES ATTACH
AYID LAP MIRE
WIND TO AREA
NAGY PER NEED

Iranians

Continued from page 17.

monarchical constitutionalism to class conflict, a realignment of class forces will develop. The wealthy merchants, probably Khomeini's most influential supporters, will align with the leading bourgeois fractions in the modern sector in the interest of property. It is likely that religious fervor will carry the artisans and shopkeepers with them for a brief period.

The propertied classes will then attempt to isolate the day workers and industrial proletariat and reestablish a stability based on the centrality of private property.

The service bourgeoisie and the students are the two elements that link the precapitalist sector to the modern sector and that have the potential of uniting the day workers and the industrial workers into a socialist movement. Drawn more and more from the ranks of the small merchants and artisans, students leave the high schools and universities and enter the bureaucracy and the liberal professions. In general, the poorer students attend Iranian universities, the wealthier students study in the U.S. and Europe.

Because the universities have been centers of discontent for decades, the number of students has been severely limited. In 1975, Iran granted the same number of college diplomas as Syria, whose population is one-fifth Iran's. However, the number of college graduates is constantly increased by returning students from abroad.

The student-bureaucrat-teacher—with family roots in the traditional sector of the economy but educated and working in the modern—plays an increasingly crucial role in Iranian politics. Many have been radicalized by new left politics during the past decade and have experienced life in societies where a semblance of "human rights" exists. Few have property or the prospects of attaining wealth. From all available reports, there seems to have been an enormous leftward movement among the students and the service

bureaucracy during this past tumultuous year.

However, it is doubtful that the mass of students, intellectuals and younger bureaucrats are Tudeh supporters. Rather, they have embraced a form of socialism that they are trying to reconcile with the perceived moral force of Islam and the personal charisma of Khomeini. The Shah was probably not far off when he blamed his pre-1978 political troubles on "Islamic Marxists."

Divided they stand.

The leftist intellectuals in the Khomeini movement will form an alliance with the poor to attempt to force the religious leader to the left. When this fails, they will turn to the Tudeh party and the industrial proletariat. This merger would produce a mass-based and powerful socialist movement based in both economic sectors.

However, there are numerous forces afoot in Iran that mitigate against the success of such a socialist alliance. It would be acting directly in the face of the moral force of Khomeini and Islam. The forces of property around Khomeini are strong and influential and will gain military support. Leftist intellectuals supporting Khomeini may be bought off.

The Tudeh party now supports Khomeini but it is doubtful that he will accept their support for long and may drive them underground again. Khomeini may borrow the Shah's tactics and pamper the oil workers.

Finally, ethnic diversity is such in Iran that attempts by Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Arabs and Baluchis to establish cultural and religious autonomy may so divide Iran that it will descend into a civil war around competing nationalisms rather than a class conflict aimed at establishing socialism.

It is certain, however, that a new phase in the struggle for Iran has begun. Khomeini's Islamic republic worked for about 50 years in Mecca and Medina 1300 years ago. It won't work now.

Leonard M. Helfgott is professor of Middle Eastern history specializing in Iran at Western Washington University, Bellingham.

Steel strike



Continued from page 5.

safety became a prominent issue. Although management claims its record is better than the industry average, shipbuilding is the fifth most hazardous occupation in the U.S., not counting the long-term dangers many workers face from asbestos, lead and radiation from the nuclear craft they build and repair.

Workers and community people worry about the economic impact of the strike at Newport News Shipbuilding, since it generates around 30 percent of the household income in the area. Also, the loss of several recent contracts is blamed on the expected strike by the company. With the commercial shipbuilding industry suffering deeply and government contracts being pruned, the Yard is increasingly feel-

ing a pinch.

Although until last year the Yard was fairly profitable—returning 11 percent on net assets in 1977—it is still a weak tentacle for Tenneco, providing only 4 percent of the conglomerate's profits on 10 percent of its sales. Many openly fear that the distant directors may simply decide to lop off their shipbuilding rather than deal with a forceful union.

Workers in the union halls and on the picketline, showing an impressive solidarity among people of all ages, between blacks and whites as well as men and women, and across varied "lifestyles," have decided to take the risk, even though it may mean a long strike, even though violence could still erupt as the company and PSA, with the assistance of state and local police, try to break the strike.

"We're not getting represented properly," said Jim Baldwin, 40, a college graduate in math and physics, who was standing with his leather welder's garment over his shoulders outside the plant gates the day before the strike. "Maybe it costs the company a few pennies, but isn't it worth a human life?"

Letelier

Continued from page 6.

gene Propper, tries to protect his "star witness" from Goldberger's cross-examination.

Goldberger and Dubin try to crack Townley, to get an acquittal for their self-proclaimed Nazi clients.

The ironies abound.

"No regrets." Not since the Eichman trial has the world heard this kind of talk. "Just following orders. It was not for me to agree or disagree with any particular assassination." Townley looks like a Clint Eastwood character: "Dirty Harry," slightly paunchy from his starchy incarceration diet, a striking contrast to the three middle-aged, flashily-dressed Cubans seated at the defense table, who cursed him as a traitor during a courtroom recess.

All creatures of U.S. policy, these killers, some with Hitler photos on their walls

or "Cuba Uber Alles" banners hanging from their balconies, have run wild in the hemisphere.

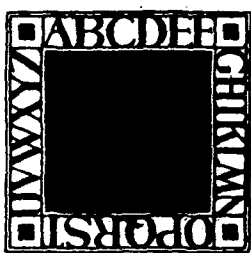
As the three Cubans came up for trial, other Cuban Nationalist Movement members bombed the Cuban Mission in the UN and Avery Fisher Hall at New York's Kennedy Center.

Pinochet, the U.S. government must admit, is "a sovereign entity," and as everyone knows, the U.S. government must acknowledge the "limits of its powers" and "respect the sovereignty of nations like Chile." Pinochet can smile—he is still in power.

The union boycott against Chile has been stalled by the Christian Democrats and by AFL-CIO leader George Meany. With all the knowledge the American authorities have of Pinochet's international murder activities, they still have not yet used their information to have Pinochet removed from power.

But at night this inarticulate Macbeth must be surrounded by ghosts who swear justice.

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LIFE IN THE U.S.

Black athletes sue university for fraud

By Earl Ofari

DWIGHT SLAUGHTER MAJORED in criminology during his four years at California State University, Los Angeles (CSLA). But he took no criminology courses. He played on the university basketball team instead.

Today, he, along with seven other black athletes, is suing CSLA. They are charging the university with "fraud and deceit" in the administration of the school's student loan and scholarship programs. Their multi-million dollar suit, the first of its kind in the country, points to exploitation and frustrations of many black athletes on campuses across the country.

Slaughter had his choice of colleges after he was selected as a high school All-American during his final year at Verbum Dei High School, a small Catholic school in the heart of the Watts district of Los Angeles. He had twice led his team to league and sectional basketball championships.

In 1972, Slaughter accepted a scholarship offer to CSLA. "The coach (Bob Miller) made me an offer I couldn't refuse," he said. That "offer," as he understood it, included promises of tutors, counselors, a complete educational package leading to a degree in criminology, and a full four-year scholarship.

The National Collegiate Athletic Association, which governs athletic programs, stipulates that scholarships to athletes such as Slaughter be limited to the costs of room, board and tuition.

When Slaughter got to CSLA, he found that a special set of rules seemed to apply to him and some of his teammates. During the next four years, on the advice of his coach, he took courses like beginning basketball, badminton, rugby, golf, backpacking and water polo. Four years later, Slaughter discovered that he was not about to get a degree. Furthermore, what he thought had been a scholarship turned out to be a government loan that he was expected to repay.

Functionally illiterate.

The other seven athletes who are Slaughter's co-plaintiffs in the suit tell similar stories. Their complaint, filed Dec. 28 in Los Angeles Municipal Court against CSLA and officials, also charges other abuses, including under-the-table payments, use of stand-ins to take their exams, waiving grade requirements and admission standards, misuse of financial aid checks, lack of course plans, misrepresentation of financial aid opportunities and scheduling of illegal practice sessions.

Randy Echols, who initiated the suit with the aid of the Western Center on Law and Poverty, noted there were basketball and football players on the Dean's List with 3.5 and higher grade-point averages. "These were guys," Echols said bitterly, "who in some cases would be classified as functionally illiterate."

Michael Ingram, a co-plaintiff who was a teammate of both Echols and Slaughter, said in an interview that he rarely went to any classes and often did not even know who his instructors were. "The coaches would just say to do what I tell you and leave the education to me," he explained.

Tests were taken care of. A student was paid to stand in for him at the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT), given to entering freshmen, Slaughter said. He was credited with a score of 900. "When I took it, I could only get a score of 450," said Slaughter.

According to sports sociologist Harry Edwards, more than 90 percent of the black athletes never graduate and "20 to 25 percent" of those at four-year colleges



Slaughter (second from left, standing) and other athletes listen to attorney Michelle Washington announce their suit.

are functionally illiterate.

Not receiving an education or a degree was bad enough, say the CSLA plaintiffs. But being made to pay financially for it was the final insult. In his senior year, each athlete was notified that he would be required to pay back part of the financial aid package, which was, he learned, a government loan.

"The coaches," Echols said, had "always made it clear that these were 'scholarships' and that all we had to worry about was playing good ball."

The State of California, however, confiscated the state income tax refunds of four of the athletes pending repayment. The university "red flagged" their transcripts. This means that the athletes will not be allowed to transfer to another college until their debts are repaid.

The athletic department and university officials so far have refused comment on the charges.

Within the past five years, several schools have been placed on probation by the NCAA for recruitment rule violations, usually involving black athletes. The schools include California State Uni-

versity at Long Beach, University of Nevada at Las Vegas, Oklahoma University, Southwest Louisiana University, the University of Reno and Michigan State University.

Blacks have been a particularly susceptible target because of their backgrounds of poverty and poor education in ghetto schools.

Cheating everyone.

It is this last point that has brought attorney Michelle Washington of the Western Center on Law and Poverty in Los Angeles into the case and led her to draw up the suit. The athletes' charges indicate there was a "ripoff," as she calls it, of the schools Minority Admission Program. "The officials at the school admitted each of the athletes to the campus under this program, thus depriving other ghetto youngsters of a chance at an education," she said.

Washington explained that the program, which waives minimum grade requirements, was used to bring in the black athletes because most of them could not meet admission standards otherwise.

"We lose out both ways," she said, "since the athletes didn't get their promised education, and other students whose place they took never reached the college doors."

Washington's sentiment was shared by California State Senator Bill Greene, who has called for an investigation.

In the meantime, Dwight Slaughter and the other athletes are out in the cold. Now 24, Slaughter is farther than ever from a degree. A family man with three school-age sons, he works for the Firestone Rubber Company. In between, he says, he manages to keep in shape by playing basketball at local gyms.

His desire to compete in the pros has not been diminished by his troubles. As for the suit, he is confident of victory and hopes that his experience will serve as a lesson for other young blacks.

"We have to show them," he said, "that we won't allow ourselves to be just thrown away."

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)

Earl Ofari is public affairs analyst for KPFK radio, Los Angeles, and the author of *The Myth of Black Capitalism*.

Lawyer

Continued from page 24.

out of detachment from the client and fosters a disassociation that can distort other parts of one's life.

I see myself, finally, as having chosen to be an essential part of an arbitrary, frequently racist and often brutal process. Many defendants are convicted for acts made inevitable by poverty. When such a client of mine goes to jail, I am despondent not only for having personally failed in beating "the system," but for having, in effect, been party to a savage conspiracy of a society that has failed. The courts were never intended to discipline, and they are by no means capable of regulating such a large segment of our population, which has developed its own rules of survival. Pompous judges robed in majestic principles merely administer society's inequities. The statistics evidence the design—the percentage of black and Hispanic prisoners as compared to whites is chilling. And what we do with prisoners degrades us even more—warehousing them while furnishing all basic needs except heterosex is not only silly, it's vicious.

But there's still the dilemma of deciding

what to do with a rapist, or someone who burns buildings, or a man who sprays mace at old women, or a father who bludgeons his two-year-old daughter to death. "How can you defend such people?" I am asked.

My initial response is usually that everyone is, of course, entitled to the best defense. Then I admit to ego gratification and the joys of good craftsmanship. Most people nod when I mention the need to make a living. And it certainly a possibility that some of my clients are innocent.

But sometimes, late at night, I think back to when I entered law school filled with high expectations and principles—several hundred criminals ago. And I wonder about what I have done and whether this is how one should be spending his time.

In the last homicide I tried, I defended the man who had bludgeoned his daughter to death. His wife—the mother of the child—testified against him. At one point, the D.A. showed her photographs of her two-year-old daughter lying naked on a slab, her little body scarred from whipping and cigarette burns, holes visible where pieces of flesh had been torn away. I can still hear her agonizing wail.

I then had to put the father on the stand to deny being a cold, remorseless killer. The jury had to be convinced he was hu-

man before they could believe he was innocent. But through most of his testimony he failed to change that ruthless image, speaking impassively, with a mean mask of a face. As a last resort, I surprised him with the same pathetic morgue shots of his daughter that had been shown to his wife.

"Did you do this to your own daughter?" I asked accusingly.

"Some of the marks. Yes. My wife beat her also."

"How could you do such a thing?"

"She'd kept crying. She'd mess in her pants, things like that. I had to teach her," he answered tentatively, taken back by my anger. "I thought that's what you're supposed to do."

From the far end of the jurybox, holding the photographs for the jury to see, my voice charged with emotion, I screamed, "Did you love her?"

"Yes," he said softly, looking at the jury, "I loved her very much."

The jury, finally, saw the mutilated child, and, at last, heard barely restrained pain and remorse from my client. The male foreman of the jury wept.

I was very effective.

(© 1979 Pacific News Service)

Seymour Wishman is a criminal lawyer in New York and author of a novel, *Nothing Personal*. A longer version of this article appeared in the *Village Voice*.

ART & ENTERTAINMENT



BOOKS

Women read romances that fit changing times

By Kate Ellis

Paperbacks are big business again. The \$2.2 million paid to Mario Puzo for paperback rights to *Fools Die* topped the previous high of \$1.9 million for *The Thorn Birds*. Apparently there is something in our desire to fetishize commodities that cannot be satisfied by movies and television.

The fear that television would wipe out the printed word for entertainment never materialized. Competition has been replaced by vertical integration, as books become situation comedies, movies get novelized, and Exxon-sponsored specials become coffee table books.

If one company can't move its product around this entire circuit, a conglomerate like Warner Communications or RCA (owning NBC, Random House, Knopf, Vintage, Pantheon and Ballantine) or CBS (Columbia Records, Fawcett, Praeger, Woman's Day, Creative Playthings and others) comes close to having a hand in every aspect of cultural marketing.

One area of book publishing, however, does not depend for its phenomenal success on tie-ins with movies and TV. This is fiction for female readers — the

books called "romances." Harlequin, the largest producer of books for women (13 titles appear every month), exemplifies the romance boom: from 12 million in 1970, Harlequin now has sales of over 109 million.

The market for romances has been growing. Women account for the majority of all readers of books in the U.S., and they make up over 75 percent of all fiction readers. Women who read romances tend to be in the high-consumer 18-35 age group, too, and they are as likely to be found in New York as in Peoria. Romance novels mean something special to many of them; publishing houses like Ballantine and Avon receive hundreds of letters each month from passionately involved readers.

As the market for romance novels has grown, the form has been changing as well, paralleling changes in women's roles in the '60s and '70s. Even the most romantic heroines these days are more aggressive, independent and openly sexual than their fictional older sisters in the Gothic novels of only a decade ago.

Gothic terror.

The Gothics followed an 18th

century format, in which terror was the intense emotion that substituted for love. What marks the Gothics as products of the '60s, though, is that the heroine's principal motivation is not the wish to get a man.

The first Gothics were published in 1960 by Jerry Gross, now editorial director with Warner Paperbacks but then with Ace Books. He claimed that his inspiration came from his mother, who read Daphne DuMaurier's *Rebecca* again and again because "they didn't make books like it anymore."

This was the year of Kennedy's election; the Cosmo girl was about to be born (Helen Gurley Brown took over as editor of *Cosmopolitan* in 1962); and *The Feminine Mystique* was three years away. More women were going to work, as the woman-defined "service" sector expanded more rapidly than did traditional male jobs. But the college-bound and college-educated wanted to "do something" with their lives, and expected to get paid for it.

Novels by Victoria Holt, Phyllis Whitney, Dorothy Eden and their numberless imitators offered a fantasy, one between giving up everything to bake cookies

for him and his children and the new worlds to discover through social work and the Peace Corps.

The heroine of this fantasy is, usually, an orphan. She is either an heiress someone is trying to get rid of, or a poor relation who must seek some sort of genteel work. (Both plots come out of different parts of *Jane Eyre*.)

Still unmarried in her middle twenties, she sets out for the large, Victorian house featured on the book's cover, sometimes as a prospective bride, but most often as the prospective employee, of the man who owns the house.

Like 19th century governesses, she finds herself in a position exactly between the servants and the family. Her job requires some education and "refinement," but is still service to others (usually her employer's child or mother) and thus does not threaten her (male-defined) femininity. The world of the Gothic is one where home and workplace are one.

By the end of the novel the heroine has won over her suspicious charge, solved the household mystery (which tends to involve the disappearance of a female) and made the shift from paid employee to wife. In doing all this she displays intelligence, independence and a capacity for devoted mothering.

The relationship between the heroine and her generally moody employer is like the fantasy behind a one-to-one work relationship where the secretary or assistant is single and female.

It is all right to love your work, the novels tell their readers, if it is done in such a spirit. Far from being repelled, men will see in you the mother they are looking for. They will appreciate the way you have made their concerns your own, and will marry you for your mind, not just for your body. One can see a connection between these aspirations, expressed in novels that millions of women read, and the nascent feminism of the '60s. The Gothic formula provided a fantasy under which a change of available roles and jobs for women could be expressed without confronting older values.

Sexy spectaculars.

The oversaturation of the Gothic market coincided with the decline in national prosperity. Women editors also say their male predecessors thought anything between Gothic covers would sell, and paid little attention to plot, consistency, or good writing. But in 1972, Nancy Coffey, then at Avon, pulled from her "slush pile" a first novel by Kathleen Woodiwiss, *The Flame and the Flower*, and launched a new category of romance that is still enjoying record-breaking sales going as high as three million copies.

These sales do not exceed the general market best-sellers, which can go up to ten million; or even a book like Erica Jong's *Fear of Flying*, which has sold five million. But the "spectacular," as this new category is called, has now superceded the Gothic novel.

How does the "spectacular" heroine differ from her Gothic predecessors? She has sex, for one thing. But though there are lots of "good parts," nothing much is named. For instance:

Rawlins entered me...using my body as a great musician might use a cherished instrument, tenderly. I seemed to be soaring through space, waves of ecstasy sweeping me further and further away from sanity and reason, and I forgot about Derek, forgot about everything but this man, this moment. He shud-

dered, sinking his teeth into the soft flesh of my shoulder, and I cried out, clasping him to me as I was swept into a realm of incredible pleasure like nothing I had ever felt before. (Jennifer Wilde, *Love's Tender Fury*)

Confessions magazines have been using this vague language to describe sex for years. But this heroine is different. In Valerie Sherwood's *This Loving Torment*, "Beauty might have been her downfall, but Charity Woodstock had a reckless passion to live and a fine determination to give herself only for love. She would challenge this new world — and win."

In Gothics the emphasis is on how you play the game, whereas winning is key in the spectacular. Two formulas operate. In one the heroine is raped by an arrogant but redeemable man, after which a titillating battle of wills consumes the next 400 pages. This formula combines female assertiveness with the notion that the first man you sleep with is the one you end up married to.

The other formula tries instead to incorporate the sexual chaos that increasingly characterizes women's lives as the divorce rate remains high, recorded rapes increase, and an ethic of thrift and deferred gratification is replaced by an all-out blitz to promote narcissism. In these novels the heroine's first experience is, as it is in the first formula, rape. But then she moves from man to man, enjoying sex with most of them, until she meets the one who has everything she wants, including a large house and lots of money.

Exploitation?

Much in these books could lead a feminist reader to put these books down as vehicles for the worst kind of Madison Avenue individualism passed off as "liberation." But to do so would be to write off the millions of readers who devour them.

One could interpret the obligatory rape as a pandering to an alleged masochism that won't allow women to enjoy (or enjoy reading about) sex unless the punishment is right there with the "crime." But another way to look at the fictional rape is to see it paralleling an increased consciousness, brought about by the women's movement, of the prevalence of rape in everyday life. It may also indicate a growing consciousness that a lot of what passes for consenting sex might better be described as rape. These novels say that such an experience, while it may be deeply disturbing, is not permanently damaging.

These novels are also much better written than other categories of romance. This is largely because women are now making more of the editorial decisions about what women will read. The editors I spoke to were demanding of their authors and respectful of their readers.

Finally, this women's fiction emphasizes a heroine's resilience, setting her off from her idealistic Gothic sisters. Though the Cinderella model is not dead and though it is still the prince who owns the castle, in the new spectacular, it is Cinderella who has the glass slipper firmly in hand, and she marries only the man whose foot it fits. This may not be all we need by way of female role models, but it is better than what we had.

Kate Ellis teaches English and creative writing at Rutgers University. She is preparing a longer analysis of this subject for *Marxist Perspectives*, and is writing a book on the Gothic novel.



FILM

Hard times, with an Alpine view

Bread and Chocolate, although made several years ago, was released commercially in the U.S. only last autumn, and then with somewhat misleading advertising. Director Franco Brusati has for three years in a row won the Italian equivalent of the Pulitzer Prize (the *Primo dell' Instituto del Drama*) for his plays, and the film has now won a dozen prizes at international festivals.

By Marjorie Heins

The publicity poster for *Bread and Chocolate* shows Nino Manfredi, the star, dressed as a waiter and holding aloft a tray overflowing with luscious food and nearly naked women in provocative poses. Only gradually has the news leaked out that this is not a mindless "sex romp" but an intelligent film about the troubles of an Italian immigrant in Switzerland.

The film is about exiles, not only Italian, but Greek, Spanish, Turkish—all the southern Europeans scrambling for a scrap of the wealth filtering into Switzerland, largely from Germans (seen here as dominant both financially and culturally), but also from the affluent of other countries. As the film opens, Nino, the protagonist, is competing with a Turk for a waiter's job in a luxury hotel. He has held a variety of odd and menial jobs in his efforts to amass enough money to bring his family to Switzerland. The resemblance to Latin immigrants in the U.S. is both painful and exact, for the racism and cultural arrogance of the Germans is as devastating to Nino's sense of himself as American racism has been to generations of blacks and Latinos.

Nino's adventures begin when he happens upon a dead body and thereby becomes implicated in a murder. When his protestations of innocence are accepted by the local police, he is amazed and impressed by this "civilized" country: in Italy, he muses, he would have been thrown in jail. (He doesn't know that the murderer has already confessed.) Later, this same "civilized" country expels him for "obscene acts in public" (urinating in the street).

Nino bolts the train and seeks refuge with a Greek political exile named Elena (Anna Karina). His adventures become more hysterical, episodic, comic, and tragic. Twice the film quotes directly from Jean Renoir's *Grand Illusion*, the undisputed masterpiece of European humanist cinema.

Same theme, different war.

In the first quotation, Nino is about to leave for a new job as

butler to a rich tax exile. The night before his departure, he and Elena—after a comic interlude—fall into each other's arms. So Jean Gabin, as Marechal in *Grand Illusion*, made love to Elisa, the German farm woman for whom any future with Marechal was impossible because the French and Germans were at war.

If the myth-like simplicity of the human-love-defeated-by-national-hatred theme in *Grand Illusion* is muddled in *Bread and Chocolate*, it is because there are no longer two countries fighting a war that will end. Now a conti-

Manfredi is as funny as Chaplin. But this is as much a comedy as *Modern Times*.

nent is in turmoil, and the enemy (although German in economic dominance and racial attitude) is a class enemy, not a national one. But, as in the simpler war-time world, any love between Nino and Elena is made impossible by circumstance; she eventually marries a blond suitor who has connections enough to gain legal admittance to the country for her son.

Nino goes on, after a grotesque episode with his Italian benefactor, to find temporary shelter with some old buddies in construction workers' barracks. This episode seems inserted almost entirely to set the scene for the second *Grand Illusion* quotation: Nino and two friends, in drag, sing a bawdy song to a roomful of tired, lonely, horny Italian workmen. One of the three is a handsome, delicately-featured youth who looks, in drag, so much like a girl that a hushed, reverential silence follows his appearance.

The same event was rendered almost unbearably poignant in a prison camp scene from *Grand Illusion*. But here, again, the men are separated from women not by war but by economic oppression, the sort of quiet war that colonialism creates in the lives of its victims. The difference is crystallized when the youth breaks down in the middle of the superficially cheerful song and screams that he's tired of singing and laughing, the Italians must stop singing and laughing, and do something about the wretched conditions that force them from their homes.

The denouement is surrealist in

tone. Unfortunately too long, and not subtle, it nevertheless summarizes in unforgettable images Nino's experience. Once again despondent and about to depart for Italy, Nino at the last moment accepts a job from a sleazy labor contractor ("healthy outdoor work"). It turns out to be slaughtering chickens. The large Italian family renting the enterprise has converted a chicken coop into a home. The sons have grown to look like chickens and each does a perfect imitation of one or another aspect of poultry behavior. They demonstrate this bizarre skill to Nino in a long, demented orgy of shrieking, crowing, and arm-flapping. The audience laughs but the scene is funny only in the most grotesque, pathetic and painful way.

The young wife of one of the chicken-sons spies a group of teenagers horseback riding and skinny-dipping in a stream nearby. The whole family converges behind chicken wire to watch these young Aryans cavort in dreamy pastorage.

In the next scene, Nino has bleached his hair and enters a German bar. But he can't maintain the pose and ends by hysterically smashing his absurd yellow head into a mirror. He is thrown out, and lands on a pile of plastic garbage bags. A blonde whore follows, revealing herself, as she proudly tears off her wig, to be Spanish. Heavy-handed as it is, the scene epitomizes the self-hatred engendered by immigrant experience.

Bread and Chocolate has been billed as a comedy partly, no doubt, because of Manfredi's considerable comic talents. He is as deftly funny as Chaplin at times. But the comparison to Chaplin runs deeper; this movie is about as much a light-hearted genre comedy as *The Great Dictator* or *Modern Times*. In fact, the writer/director of *Bread and Chocolate*, Franco Brusati, undertakes a more detailed and sophisticated analysis than Chaplin's political parables ever attempted.

Perhaps the only way to get funding, promotion, or distribution for the film was to bill it as a mindless sex comedy or affectionate parody of the stereotypical Italian buffoon. But I suspect *Bread and Chocolate* will ultimately find its place as an urgent, perhaps prophetic protest against the transformation of Europe and colonization of its southern peoples.

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POLITICAL FILM

German terrorism reveals left's fears

By Lynn Garafola

On Sept. 5, 1977, Hanns-Martin Schleyer, head of the West German Industries Federation, was kidnapped by urban guerrillas in Cologne. Six weeks later, three members of the Red Army Faction (RFA) held at Stammheim prison "committed suicide," and that night, Schleyer's body was found in the trunk of a car in eastern France.

For many in West Germany, these events spelled the collapse of public order. For others, particularly intellectuals on the left, the deaths, with their aftermath of political repression, came to symbolize the schism dividing the nation and its increasingly demoralized left.

Germany in Autumn is an effort by leading West German directors and writers to record the national state of mind during those traumatic October days. A collaborative venture—Rainer Werner Fassbinder, Alexander Kluge and Heinrich Boll were among the 13 to pool their talents—it voices the despair and pessimism of the German left.

In the film's opening and in many ways most arresting segment, Fassbinder rapidly cuts from close-ups that show him grilling his mother to scenes with his real-life lover. In this juxtaposition, he recreates the outrage touched off by the Baader-Meinhof deaths and the paranoia induced by the isolation of his position as an intellectual of left-wing sympathies.

As Fassbinder strips away layer by layer of his mother's hypocrisy, self-discipline, indoctrination and conformity, her "liberal" veneer collapses. Like most "decent" Germans come to mat-

urity after the war, she agrees in principle to the need for discussion and democratic process. But unrelenting cross-examination brings her to confess with an expression close to rapture what many in Germany secretly yearn for—"an autocrat, but a kind and thoughtful one."

In his mother, Fassbinder discerns survival of the Nazi past; in his lover, Armin—a "guest worker" on the Daimler-Benz assembly lines who says that terrorists "should be shot"—he is enraged by a retreat from politics. This retreat has made Germany's postwar working class both the most passive of Europe and the most complicit in condoning official witchhunts and calls for law and order.

The underlying theme is Fassbinder's helplessness and isolation. The segment is shot within the claustrophobic space of an apartment, isolated from the great "outside"—the never-stated power of the German state. It is a dubious haven where the filmmaker enacts his private nightmares.

Yet what should be a strong point of the segment—its portrayal of the interpenetration of private and political experience—becomes a source of weakness. As we observe the filmmaker battering Armin or drinking himself into a stupor, the line between politics and self-indulgence blurs. One cannot help but feel that in *Germany in Autumn*, as in his other films, Fassbinder uses politics to justify his obsession with violence.

Stopping with sympathy.

Because *Germany in Autumn* is about reactions to guerrilla warfare rather than about guerrilla warfare itself, the film stops short of articulating an explicit moral



Fassbinder challenges his mother's democratic veneer.

or tactical position. A general attitude of sympathy and support for the guerrillas' aspirations and motivations can be discerned. At the same time, there is criticism of guerrilla methods. As an RFA man interviewed in prison explains: "We were formed in opposition to events such as the killing of innocent human beings at Mai Lai.... But now what do we find we have become? We threaten to blow up a plane-load of absolutely innocent people."

But the film only obliquely raises the question of the relationship between contemporary "terrorism" and its political consequences. To what extent have the actions of the Red Army Faction and similar groups throughout Europe advanced the goals of working-class politics? To what extent have they played into the hands of the right and provoked new waves of political repression? Unfortunately, these issues are never directly addressed.

If *Germany in Autumn* disappoints in its analysis of guerrilla warfare, it succeeds at several points in depicting the isolation of the country's left. A young history teacher, for example, sacked because of her views, devotes her energies to a radical

film group increasingly caught up in reproducing cinematic clichés of the past rather than capturing the political reality of Germany's present.

The film voices the fear that fascism is on the rise and that the left is powerless to stem its advance. Fascist-style militarism appears in images of escalating violence from beatings to political terror and repression.

Part of a trend.

Germany in Autumn is not alone in linking fascism and the left's present mood of despair. Throughout Europe, and especially in Italy and France where the gains of 1968 have been gradually dismantled, there has been a resurgence of interest in fascism and its seeds in the Weimar and pre-war years. "Turin Between the Wars" in Italy's automobile capital, "Paris-Berlin 1900-1933" at the Centre Pompidou, and "London-Berlin: The Twenties Meets the Seventies" are typical of major exhibitions that share a vision of fascism as a cultural system capable of controlling man's internal and external environment. They also express the fear that the Weimar cycle is repeating itself.

If *Germany in Autumn* views

the national mood with pessimism, it is because neo-fascism is no idle spectre. A brisk trade in Nazi insignia flourishes, and like Fassbinder's mother, many yearn for order and strongmen.

German ambivalence toward the Nazi past is expressed all too clearly in Joachim Fest's *Hitler—A Career*, a documentary of Hitler's life based on Fest's best-selling biography. The film explicitly condemns Nazi atrocities and warmongering. But by drawing insistently on the iconography of the Third Reich as recorded in newsreels and other propaganda footage, it ends by glorifying what Fest terms Germany's "madness."

Flawed as it is, *Germany in Autumn* is a political document significant as much for its form as for the issues it raises. Like the Moro kidnapping and its aftermath, Schleyer's death and the Baader-Meinhof suicides mark a turning point in popular attitudes toward urban guerrilla violence. They also, however, signal the added momentum of Europe's rightward drift and the deepening mood of pessimism on its left. ■

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Dear Critics:

Recent letters criticizing my articles about rock music raise important questions about how the left can or should look at popular culture. At the heart of this controversy is a more important issue than how we view the Rolling Stones. My critics are demanding that *IN THESE TIMES* either ignore rock music completely or use solely political criteria for evaluating it and, presumably, any other cultural expression to which they object.

With two angry sweeps of the pen, Elkins and Avril reduce all of rock music to its lyrics alone, and ignore sound, tone, melody mood, rhythm, form—in other words, large parts of any rock song. Obviously, lyrics are not irrelevant—and as a critic I often point to a song's lyrical content—but any assessment based solely or even largely on a song's words is a one-dimensional mistake.

These writers argue that the left should support only popular culture that is politically correct. This view is reprehensible, especially considering the left's legacy of suppressing artists who fell beyond the grounds of political acceptability. Such a position leads inevitably to atrocities like the Soviet Writers Congress' 1934 attack on the work of the "reactionary" James Joyce as being "a heap of dung, teeming with worms," or characterizations of all "bourgeois literature" as "an orgy of mysticism, clericalism, and pornography." In its place was to come "socialist realism," in which "artistic depiction must be combined with the task of ideological remolding and re-education of the toiling people in the spirit of Socialism."

Crimes in the name of politically correct art also occurred closer to home, as in the well-known case when the American screenwriter Albert Maltz was forced by his Communist party comrades to recant his criticism of the party's literary standards. In 1946 Maltz objected to the manner in which novels were judged essentially by their political lines and the authors' politics, rather than other, aesthetic criteria.

I am not arguing that we should ignore the politics expressed by a rock group in our evaluation of their music, and even a casual reader of my *ITT* reviews will know that I often discuss these aspects of a record. To ignore such politics would prevent us, as a political people, from responding with the whole of our persons.

If someone is so repelled by the Rolling Stones, or any other rock band, that they cannot even listen to them, so be it. But these letters imply that a critic or a fan cannot favorably respond to the Stones' music *because* of its politics. Good politics, however, does not necessarily make good music. The Tom Robinson Band, a British group led by a gay socialist, recently provided one example of this in their musically mediocre ode to the women's liberation movement called "Right On Sister." Most readers will have little difficulty thinking of other examples of politically correct duds.

A lot of rock music is sexist. So is a lot of disco, blues, soul, folk and country music. So are a lot of movies, books, plays, TV shows and sporting events. To say this is to say that we live in a sexist society, and that sexism permeates and is reflected in all of our cultural institutions and products. In

fact, one could argue that the more closely a form of popular culture corresponds to the social reality (as opposed to being of interest to a tiny minority), the more it will reflect the dominant social attitudes toward women.

There is a thin line, one often crossed, between sexist rock music and rock music about sex. It's probably fair to say that because of its beat and rhythm, *all* rock music is somewhat about sex. Yet even though rock has been dominated by men—and so most often expresses a man's point of view rather than a woman's—in many ways it has had a liberating effect on both men and women.

As Karen Durbin wrote in "Can a Feminist Love the World's Greatest Rock and Roll Band" (the band was the Rolling Stones and the answer was yes. See *Ms.*, October 1974): "Rock music (Tina Turner's as well as Mick Jagger's) provided me and a lot of women with a channel for saying, 'I want,' for asserting our sexuality without apologies and without having to pretty up every passion with the traditionally 'feminine' desire for true love and marriage, and that was a useful step toward liberation."

I think that the music of the Stones has always been ambivalent and contradictory about women. Anyone who easily dismisses them as misogynist through and through simply hasn't listened clearly to songs such as "Ruby Tuesday," "Back Street Girl," "If You Really Want to Be My Friend," or "Beast of Burden," to name the most obvious. Even a song like "Under My Thumb" can be read in different ways, as feminist rock critic Ellen Willis pointed out. She noted that as "a fantasy of sweet revenge" it could easily be sung by a female. (And in fact it was, by Tina Turner, on *Acid Queen*.)

More often than not, the Stones write about, in Durbin's words, "the dark side of passion as well as the light, the power struggles that lurk in every love affair, the destructive impulses that aren't male but simply human." Some people would evidently like to bar such considerations from rock. They cannot, however, eradicate them so easily from human feelings.

The song "Some Girls," in which Mick Jagger lists every racial and national stereotype about women he can think of, has been singled out for criticism. If these lyrics are taken as a serious statement of Jagger's beliefs, they are undoubtedly racist and sexist. I tend to accept, however, Jagger's statement that the verses were *intended* as a joke (as, no doubt, was his parody of Bob Dylan's singing on the same song). Jokes like this are irresponsible, and they are not funny. Misguided satire is no laughing matter. But it's no hanging matter either, and recent efforts to censor the song are similarly misguided.

I do not support the boycott of *all* albums put out by Warner Communications (Warner Bros., Atlantic, Electra-Asylum, and all their subsidiary labels) currently being promoted by Women Against Violence Against Women.

Public pressure is necessary to get giant corporations to act in a more socially responsible manner with regard to sexist advertising campaigns and album covers. But an across-the-board boycott of one of the main corporations producing popular music (and why

single out Warner's and not Mercury Records, which releases the Ohio Players' frequently criticized album covers?), rather than focusing on a particular album or ad campaign, is misplaced.

Such a boycott strikes at artists such as Jackson Browne and Bonnie Raitt who have been long-time supporters of progressive causes. But more importantly, given the nature of the recording industry, the WAVAW campaign is comparable to calling for a boycott of the ABC television network because *Charlie's Angels* is offensive.

If a rock band wants to get its music heard, it has little choice other than trying to sign with a major record company. According to Steve Chapple and Reebee Garofalo's *Rock'n'Roll Is Here To Pay*, the top ten record companies account for over 82 percent of the U.S. sales of albums, singles and tapes appearing on the charts. Warner Communications takes up one of the largest chunks of this total.

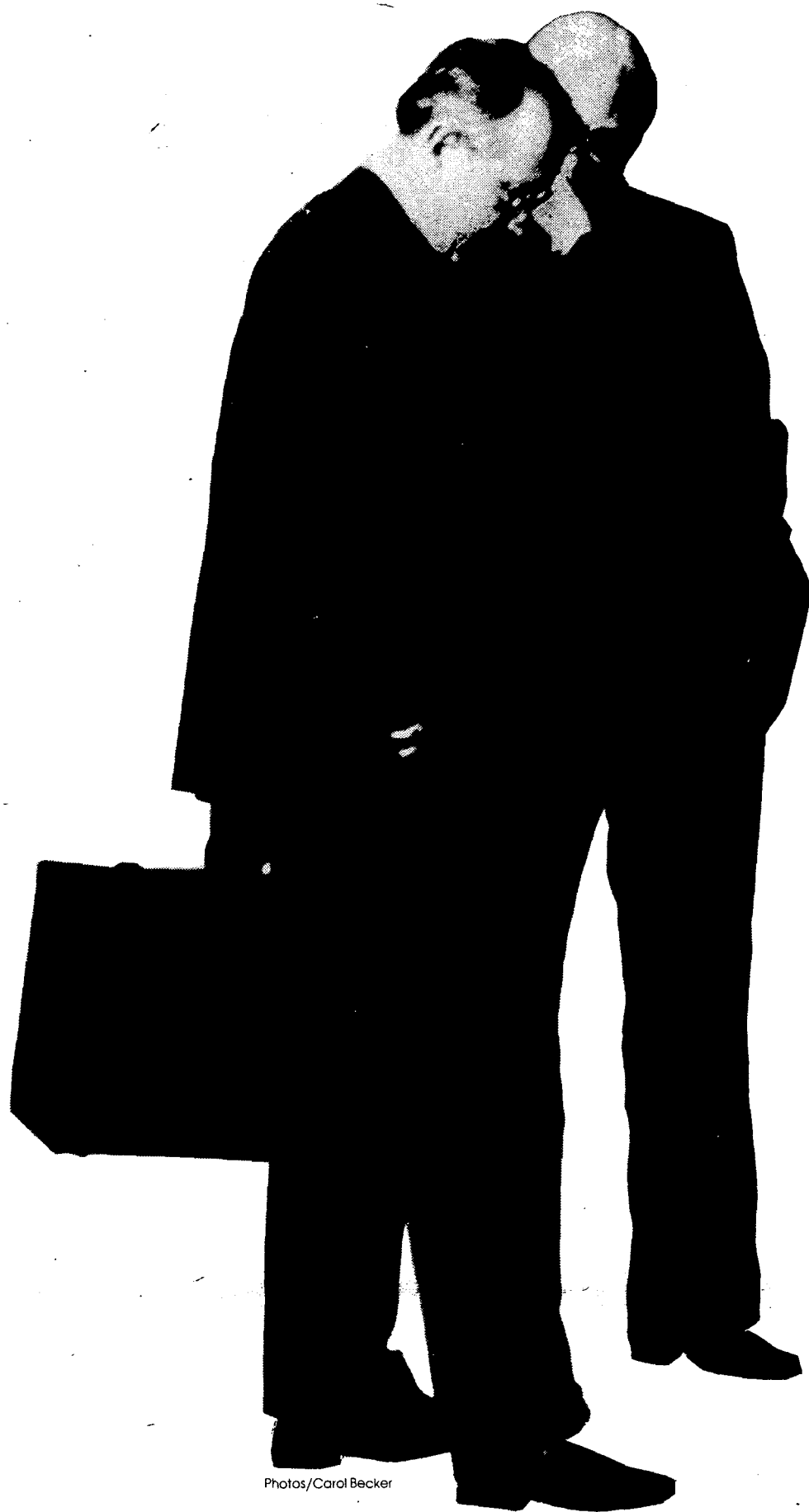
Tom Robinson was asked recently how he could reconcile his politics with his band's affiliation with Capitol Records, another corporate giant that has released albums with sexist covers. Robinson's response was that "if it weren't for those multi-national record companies we wouldn't be able to reach people around the world."

Referring to the writings of German critic Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Robinson criticized elitists on the left who try to remain pure by not getting involved with the industry and thus never reach the mass of people. While Robinson's criticisms may be too strong—after all, some musicians are on small record labels because the giants won't touch them—his point about not opting out of the entertainment industry is well taken.

To demand that people stop buying all the products of companies that have on occasion released sexist album covers is to demand that people stop listening to popular music as long as capitalist society continues to exist. No doubt some would be happy listening solely to the products of the "alternative" companies, but for most of us the prospect would be unthinkably gloomy.

This debate raises other important related questions for future articles, such as why there are relatively few women rock musicians; what are the roles in which women rock singers have been generally confined and who is currently breaking out of them; and why a woman with the rather strange name of Poly Styrene is one of the great hopes for the future of rock and roll.

Bruce Lancia



Photos/Carol Becker

Criminal lawyer pleads guilty

By Seymour Wishman

It was past 10:00 on a sweaty summer night when I accompanied the sister of a client to the emergency ward of Newark City Hospital. I had successfully defended her brother against a mugging charge about a year before. Now that brother had been shot during an alleged burglary, and I was rushing to the hospital to prevent him from saying anything incriminating to a nurse or doctor—or, worse, the police.

My client's sister and I joined the parade of wounded and mutilated bodies staggering through the swinging doors. Suddenly, across the lobby, a heavy but not unattractive woman in a nurse's uniform shrieked, "Get that mother _____ out of here!" Two women rushed forward to restrain her. "That's the lawyer, that's the mother _____ lawyer!" she shouted.

I looked around. No one else resembled a criminal lawyer. Still screaming, she dragged her two restrainers toward me. I was quite baffled. As the only white face in a crowd of 40, I felt a growing sense of anxiety.

"That's the son-of-a bitch that did it to me!" she screamed. I didn't know what

she was talking about.

"Kill him and that nigger Horton!" Larry Horton...of course. Larry Horton was a client of mine. Six months before I had represented him at his trial for sodomy and rape. At last I recognized the woman's face. She had testified as the "complaining" witness against Horton:

Wishman: Isn't it a fact that after you met the defendant at a bar you asked him if he wanted to have a good time?

Lewis: No! That's a lie!

Wishman: Isn't it true that you took him and his friends back to your apartment and had that good time?

Lewis: No!

Wishman: And after you had that good time, didn't you ask for money?

Lewis: No such way!

Wishman: You claim to have been raped and sodomized. As a nurse, you surely have an idea of the effect of such an assault on a woman's body. Are you aware, Mrs. Lewis, the police doctor found no evidence of force or trauma?

Lewis: I don't know what the doctors found...

I walked past the screaming nurse without acknowledging her and went off to tend to business with my burglar.

Criminal justice is a world of ritual aggression, incompetence and deceit. Pompous judges administer social inequality.

Later that night, as I drove home from the hospital, I tried to recall all the details of the trial. I *had* done a job on the victim...alleged victim. But, of course, to be effective in court a criminal lawyer *has* to act forcefully—even brutally—at times. I had come early in my career to regard the "cross" as an art form. I've frequently discredited witnesses. Nothing personal. This woman simply didn't understand that.

But this woman was upsetting me. I couldn't just dismiss her with jurisprudential arguments. Maybe she was one of many humiliated witnesses who were not as despicable as I had made them out to be. Maybe she *was* telling the truth. Maybe she *had* been raped and sodomized. And maybe I was responsible for her unjustified public disgrace. Worse, she may have been one of many.

I have come to believe that my discomfort after this episode was not just a personal matter, that it also revealed certain occupational hazards of my profession. A criminal lawyer moves in a world filled with aggression, violence, incompetence and deceit. And one cost of the administration of justice is the damage done to the participants. Though surely the emotional and spiritual damage is worse for defendants—and still worse for victims—the lawyer can be scarred in the process. I've had to adjust.

Just about every client has, at some point, lied to me. Several clients have insisted on taking lie-detector tests—until I've told them I believed the machine to be 100 percent effective. The few clients who have gone ahead with the test failed. But while I do consider the lie detector to be fairly accurate, I must confess that when I said I thought the machine was "100 percent effective," I was lying.

And criminals are not the only liars. Witnesses, paid experts (such as psychiatrists), prosecutors—even some judges—lie. Many cops, I suspect, can no longer tell the difference between a lie and a grapefruit.

Besides lies, I am surrounded by incompetence. One one side are the clients, each a failed rapist, burglar, murderer or whatever. If they had been successful, they wouldn't have needed me. Once a 20-year-old college kid came to my office to tell me that he had succeeded in making a political statement—but had, unfortunately, failed in making that statement anonymously.

"What was the statement?" I asked with some trepidation.

"I burned down the student union building," he said.

"And?"

"I was photographed carrying a can of gasoline," he added sheepishly.

Rather than fight a losing battle on some tenuous free-speech theory, I eventually worked out a deal in which my client, the author of the burning political statement, got probation. To have "walked" after destroying almost a million dollars worth of property, not to mention the people he could have killed! The deal pleased my client. I was appalled.

On the other side, the government manages to present an astounding array of professional incompetents. In one homicide, my client was acquitted of murdering his daughter because of the state's bungling. The cops illegally searched my client's apartment so the whips and blood-stained sticks were inadmissible. The police photographer lost the most gruesome close-ups of the dead girl, and the medical examiner who did the autopsy could barely speak English. And in the case of the nurse who'd claimed rape, it was pos-

sible that the doctor who found no evidence of force or trauma was also incompetent.

It would probably be easier to win criminal trials if I didn't have to rely so heavily on the state's incompetence, and instead rested my case more on the evidence of my client's innocence. But there's a problem with that strategy. Nearly all my clients have been guilty of something, although occasionally not of the crime charged. In law school I had been taught that in protecting our citizens, it is "better 100 guilty go free than one innocent be convicted." I had assumed that was an exaggeration to make a point rather than a warning to consider before becoming a criminal lawyer. I have often wondered which lawyer kept getting the "one." Perhaps some other lawyer was getting my share.

Many of my clients are monsters who have done monstrous things. They are people of bestial cruelty, without grace or remorse. One way to deal with shocking behavior is to create a separating distance.

But at some deeper level, regardless of how detached one feels, there is a psychological cost of each slice of courtroom life for the criminal lawyer too long in the business. Destroying witnesses can lead to an arrogance and an inflated sense of control over people that is, at times, difficult to leave behind in the courtroom.

Even more dismaying, the need to function dispassionately has widened the distance between my natural emotions and intellectual reactions. In the murder case where my client was charged with murdering his daughter, I constantly resisted calling the two-year-old victim "it" in front of the jury, but "it" was *usually* what I thought. This detachment is exacerbated when—as my outrage over that "prostitute," Mrs. Lewis, slandering the good name of my client by claiming rape—the lawyer conjures up emotions in an effort to influence the jury. These contrived emotions are nothing less than deceitful performances. When too many such performances are successful, emotions in other contexts become successful.

Part of the problem is that the trial itself is ritualized aggression. The object of the contest is not "a search for truth," it's simply a struggle for victory. Fighting as vigorously as possible to win for one's client is in the highest tradition of the



profession. The less worthy the client, the more noble the effort. (I was distressed, not long ago, to realize that I'd rather represent someone who was guilty, because the pressure of fighting for someone innocent might disturb my detachment. This "professionalism" makes a virtue

Continued on page 15